(1959)

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

REPORT ON CENTRAL AFRICA

INCLUDING

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

AD/5H/1

To be presented to the General Assembly, May 1959
by the Special Committee Anent Central Africa

FOREWORD

THIS Committee was set up by the General Assembly in May 1958 to watch over the interests of The Church of Scotland in the Federation of Central Africa, particularly in view of the Conference to take place regarding the future of Federation in 1960.

This is its first Report. It was finalised before the present disturbances commenced and may thereby have added value.

Manifestly, before the Assembly of May 1959, the Committee will add a supplementary section in the light of the disturbances. This Supplement is being delayed till the latest possible moment for printing, owing to the constantly changing situation.

As the allegation is often made that Reports emanating from Bodies in Britain are too far distant to be conversant with the facts, it is pointed out that this Committee has had at every meeting missionaries, both past and present, who have spent years in the territories of the Federation.

While this Report is unanimous, it must be clearly understood that it does not, and cannot, represent the findings of *The Church of Scotland* till such time as the General Assembly meets in the end of May 1959.

(Signed) GEORGE F. MACLEOD,
Convener.

March 1959.

The Church of Scotland

FIRST REPORT

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S COMMITTEE ANENT CENTRAL AFRICA

40/5H/2

MAY 1959

REVIEW OF ACTION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

BEFORE the appointment by the General Assembly of 1958 of this Special Committee now reporting on Central African Federation, the continuing concern of the Church of Scotland on this great issue was set forth in the Reports of the Church and Nation Committee to the General Assemblies of the years 1952-58 and in the Assembly Deliverances of these years.

In 1952, in anticipation of the Federal Scheme, the Report of the Church and Nation Committee contained a résumé of the movement towards Federation over the previous thirty years.

The *Report* said :—

"There is no more important question to-day in the colonial field. In no part of Africa has the Church of Scotland closer or more intimate relations with the Africans than in these Territories. Economically and politically there is a case for federation, but at present it seems impossible to obtain the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people concerned. . . ."

"Any federal constitution should contain either as one of its provisions or in its preamble a clause allowing for revision at the end of a stated period, thus providing an incentive both to Europeans and Africans to strive to meet each other's point of view. Africans have seen 'entrenched clauses' ignored or deliberately broken in South Africa. Europeans in the Rhodesias are on record as asking to throw off the control of the Colonial Office. The pledges which are now suggested must have real value to guarantee African rights. . . . But given these, it is possible to conceive a Central African Federation developing along British lines, enriching African life and marking the beginning of the establishment of a unique State in the heart of Africa."

The *Deliverance* of 1952 said :—

"The General Assembly, noting with interest the movement towards a Central African Federation, but viewing with concern the actual proposals now being made, urge that full consideration be given to African opinion and that no scheme should be adopted without the consent and co-operation of the Africans."

In 1953 the Church and Nation Committee made a Special Report to the General Assembly regarding the Federation which was to be set up by Order in Council in August. The Report sets out the discussions and communications which the Committee had with the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices, with representatives of H.M. Government, with the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, with three African Chiefs from Nyasaland and, finally, with the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs. It had fully urged its various objections to the Scheme. A final official Conference which Africans had again declined to attend had been held in London in January 1953, and a statement was submitted to that Conference on behalf of the Church of Scotland. The acceptance of the principle of Federation which was in the First Memorandum was re-affirmed but the plea for delay in setting up Federation until a greater measure of co-operation from the Africans could be secured was strongly urged. The Conference therefore was well aware of the view of the Church of Scotland and of many other Church and Mission Councils.

The 1953 Church and Nation Committee Report reads :—

" Those responsible for the final Federal Scheme declare their conviction that a Federation on the lines proposed is the only practicable means by which the three Central African Territories can achieve security in the future and ensure the highest well-being and economic prosperity of their peoples. It is a bold and imaginative Scheme and may well become the pattern for the governing of a multi-racial State with peoples not only of different races but of varying levels of culture. If it can be successfully operated in Central Africa it will be for the lasting good of the land. The Scheme on the other hand does not meet the basic opposition of the Africans nor of many people in our land. In the minds of Africans, particularly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, there is a deep fear of domination of the Federation by Southern Rhodesia and an extension thereby of the baneful effects of the colour bar. It is largely because of this fear that Africans have refused to co-operate. Many in this country feel that if the Scheme is set up in face of African opposition, a great principle of Colonial policy, and indeed one of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, will have been departed from. The Europeans, whose interests are important and should not be forgotten, can by their attitude to Africans do much to create a better atmosphere. Africans should on their part give a fair trial to the Scheme. . . ."

" The vast majority of those who will live under the Federation are Africans. Although they have not co-operated in the framing of the Constitution, it may be hoped that they will yet take their full share in the building up of the structure of the Federation. The Church of Scotland prays that the fears which are in the hearts of many in this country and in Africa may not be realised. The promised review of the Federal Constitution gives the Church the opportunity to press for the removal of disabilities affecting Africans. The Church of Scotland must assure the Africans, and especially those under its care, of its constant watchfulness and its sense of obligation to do all in its power to secure the recognition of the right of the African to his own land."

After a full discussion the following became the finding of the General Assembly and thus of the Church of Scotland :—

" The General Assembly, noting that Federation now seems inevitable, still deplores the fact that the consent of the Africans has not been obtained ; they call for action to be taken by the Government and all concerned to re-assure Africans and convince them of the sincerity of the proposed partnership, and earnestly urge all concerned to give the Federal Scheme

a fair trial in the hope that it may prove beneficial to the three Territories."

"The General Assembly assure Africans of the Church's constant watchfulness and sense of obligation to do all in its power to secure the removal of disabilities affecting Africans and the recognition of the right of the African to his own land."

In the years succeeding 1953 the Reports reflect the endeavour of the Committee to fulfil their promise of constant watchfulness.

The Deliverance of 1955 said :—

"The General Assembly note with interest that Federation having been established in Central Africa there seem to have been comparatively few signs of active opposition ; and that already the economic benefits of the new structure of government are beginning to be apparent."

"At the same time, however, the General Assembly view with misgiving certain trends in the racial policy of the Federal Government and urge that, by every means possible, the anxieties of the Africans be allayed and the ideal of partnership be translated into practice."

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The Reports and Deliverances of succeeding years reiterate this conviction that economic prosperity is not sufficient.

The Church and Nation Committee expressed growing anxiety about many trends of Federal policy such as are set out below : the repudiation of the Preamble, the rejection of the recommendations of the African Affairs Board, and the pressure for Dominion status for the Federation in 1960.

As we are now approaching a critical phase in the history of Central Africa, and our relations with it, it is necessary to review the main developments of the political controversy.

THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE THREE TERRITORIES BEFORE FEDERATION

In Southern Rhodesia

(Approximate population, excluding Indians and Coloured minorities : 2,200,000 Africans ; 220,000 Europeans.)

This territory received self-government in 1923. Since then it has been working with a parliamentary structure largely based on the British model. By 1953 it had a single chamber of thirty members elected by adult suffrage with property and literacy limitations which meant that it was an all-white Assembly. There was a cabinet of seven Ministers. There was a Governor presiding over an Executive Council whose members were all Ministers in office. Formal international relations were conducted on behalf of the Colony by H.M. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The U.K. Government also had a power of veto on differential legislation affecting the African population. This was never used, although many differential statutes came into being during those twenty years (Land Apportionment Act, Industrial Conciliations Act, Native Registration Act, Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, &c.). These laws reminded many Africans in the two northern Territories of the Union of South Africa.

In Northern Rhodesia

(2,100,000 Africans ; 75,000 Europeans.)

By the early 1950's the Governor-in-Council was still firmly responsible for Government policy, thus preserving Protectorate status. The Governor was Commander-in-Chief, possessed a right of veto and special action in emergency, and was responsible completely to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Legislative Council was presided over by a Speaker and was composed of nine official (senior Civil Service) members, ten unofficial elected members, and four nominated unofficial members specifically representing African interests, of whom two had to be Africans. These Africans were elected by the African Representative Council, which was (and is) a statutory body composed of representatives from all the Provincial Councils. The Executive Council (Cabinet of the Legislative Council) was composed of seven official members and four unofficial members, one of whom specifically represented African interests. The Governor was President of the Executive Council. Thus the locus of sovereignty was clearly fixed in London. The Africans preferred distant imperial rule to the prospect of white settler control from within their borders.

In Nyasaland

(2,600,000 Africans ; 7,000 Europeans.)

On the threshold of Federation, Nyasaland was in a position broadly similar to that of Northern Rhodesia. If anything, its Protectorate status in law was more definite, because in 1891 it had been taken over by the British Crown with " the consent and desire of the Chiefs and the people." The Governor was assisted by an Executive Council composed of four officials and two unofficials. The Legislative Council was composed of the Governor as President, nine official members (three of whom were *ex officio*), and nine nominated (*N.B.*, not elected) unofficials. Thus, formally at least, white settlers and Africans had less technical representation than in Northern Rhodesia, and the real control lay more firmly in the hands of the British electorate. The Africans, through the establishment of three Provincial Councils, and in many other ways, were encouraged to look forward to some kind of self-government reflecting the will of the majority, irrespective of race.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE FEDERATION

In 1953 the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland was brought into force by an Order in Council.

The Essentials of the Federal Act

The following functions were taken from the Territorial Governments and given to the new Federal Government. Over them the U.K. Government can no longer exercise the control and supervision which it formerly did in connection with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland :—

> Defence, Health, External Affairs, Immigration (including deportation and status of aliens), Posts and Telecommunications, Higher Education for all races and non-African primary and secondary education, Prisons, Railways, Inter-territorial Roads, Civil Aviation, Customs, Income Tax, Currency and Coinage, Import and Export Control, Price Control, Exchange Control, Audit, Companies, Copyrights, Non-African Agriculture and Veterinary Services, Meteorology, Archives, Hydro-Electric Development, &c.

The following functions were left with the Territorial Governments :—

> African Education and Agriculture, Labour, Mines, Provincial and Native Administration, Forestry, Game, Fisheries, Co-operation, Lands, Social Welfare, Mortgages, Bankruptcies, Veterinary Services for Africans' Stock, Rural Development, Geological Surveys, Police, &c.

It was argued that the functions which were more directly related to African well-being were left with the Territorial Governments. However, many of the Federal responsibilities were shot through with racial issues—*e.g.*, travel on trains, immigration, hospital accommodation, the impact of developments on rural populations, &c.

The Constitution of the Federal Legislature gave the initiative to Southern Rhodesia, whose population is smaller than that of Nyasaland. Articles 8 and 9 read :—

> " The legislative powers of the Federation shall be vested in a federal legislature consisting of Her Majesty and a Federal Assembly. The Federal Assembly shall consist of a Speaker and thirty-five members made up as follows :—
>
> (*a*) Twenty-six members, of whom fourteen shall be elected in Southern Rhodesia, eight in Northern Rhodesia, and four in Nyasaland ;
>
> (*b*) Six African members, of whom two shall be elected in Southern Rhodesia, two in Northern Rhodesia, and two in Nyasaland ; and
>
> (*c*) Three European members charged with special responsibility for African interests, of whom one shall be elected in Southern Rhodesia and two shall be appointed, one by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the other by the Governor of Nyasaland."

Clearly this meant a great reduction in the powers of the Northern Governors, who were responsible to the Colonial Secretary in the U.K. It set the stage for the extension of the Southern Rhodesian system into the north.

Early Apprehensions

Federation was introduced in face of considerable opposition and apprehension on the part of the African population. This opposition was vigorous, persistent and, on the whole, well-informed. We base this not only on the testimony of many responsible Africans, but on that of considerable numbers of missionaries, anthropologists, and administrators.

The idea of a Federation had been presented to the British public on administrative, economic, and general political grounds. It is to be feared that the idea of a Federation had appealed to those settlers who had desired to eliminate the U.K. Government's power of effective interference to maintain Protectorate status in the two northern territories. This was made abundantly clear in the speeches made at that time by men who now have a leading position in the Federal Government. From many examples we choose the following :—

> " One of the principal reasons for having this Federation at all is to get as much power as possible out of the hands of people far away in London. I think we can go forward with this Federation in the firm conviction that we are not likely to get much interference from the Secretary of State . . . and in the unlikely event of our

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getting that interference, then we are powerful enough to make ourselves prevail over him." (Mr J. Greenfield in October 1952; quoted in 'Hansard' of 24th March 1955, Col. 679.)

SEEMING SAFEGUARDS

On account of the strong African protests and the criticisms made by many groups in the U.K., the following safeguards were "built into" the Federal Act:—

(*a*) *The Preamble*

The two main sections read as follows :—

"(*d*) Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments for so long as their respective peoples so desire, the said Governments remaining responsible (subject to the ultimate authority of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom) for, in particular, the control of land in those Territories, and for the local and territorial political advancement of the peoples thereof.

(*e*) The association of the three Territories in a Federation under Her Majesty's sovereignty, enjoying responsible government in accordance with the Constitution hereinafter set forth, would conduce to the security, advancement, and welfare of all the inhabitants and enable the Federation, when the inhabitants of the Territories so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth."

It has since been pointed out that in law Preambles have no binding force.

It is also clear that some of these phrases could be used in efforts to change the Constitution along lines of increased self-government but not in the liberal direction intended. The main controversy, however, was over the meaning of "inhabitants." Who are they? In a plural society even this obvious question has to be faced. In a debate in the House of Commons, reported in 'Hansard' for 24th June 1953, Col. 1969, these interpretations were made :—

Mr James Griffiths said :—

"Inhabitants means inhabitants without any qualification of colour, race or creed."

The Colonial Secretary (then Mr Oliver Lyttelton) said :—

"By 'the majority of the people,' I agree with the Right Hon. Gentleman that we mean the inhabitants which he said are the inhabitants. . . . Nothing short of that will enable any Government to approve of a scheme of amalgamation or of a status which will end in Dominion status without the agreement of the majority of the inhabitants. I give a categorical assurance about that."

Yet in more recent days the Prime Minister of the Federation, speaking in the Federal Assembly, said :—

"The pledge that independence could not be granted before a majority of the inhabitants wanted it did not mean that the Natives had the right to veto anything which would be in the best interests of the Federation."

(Sir Roy Welensky as reported in the 'Johannesburg Star' of 14th August 1957.)

In the same debate it was stated by a Rhodesian member that " the majority of the inhabitants " really means " the majority of the voters "—a common idea in non-African circles.

(*b*) *The African Affairs Board*

The relevant sections of the Federal Act read as follows :—

> " There shall be a Standing Committee of the Federal Assembly to be known as the African Affairs Board, consisting of the two specially appointed European members and the specially elected European member ; and one specially elected African member from each of the three Territories, to be selected by a majority vote of the specially elected African members and the (European) members referred to above.
>
> The Governor-General shall appoint a chairman and a deputy chairman from among the members of the Board.
>
> It shall be the particular function of the Board to draw attention to any Bill that is in their opinion a differentiating measure. . . .
>
> The expression ' differentiating measure ' means a Bill by which Africans are subjected or made liable to any conditions, restrictions or disabilities disadvantageous to them to which Europeans are not also subjected or made liable, or a Bill . . . which will in its practical application have such effect.
>
> On the passing of any Bill . . . the Board may present to the Speaker a request in writing that the Bill shall be reserved by the Governor-General for signification of Her Majesty's pleasure on the ground that it is a differentiating measure, and any such request shall include the reasons why in the opinion of the Board the Bill is such a measure. . . ."

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From the beginning this arrangement was criticised bitterly by the Rhodesian politicians, who were pressing for a strong Federal Government :—

> " I believe that the thing that is going to wreck this scheme is the so-called African Affairs Board."
>
> (Sir Godfrey Huggins, ' Rhodesia Herald ' of 1st July 1952.)

> " The African Affairs Board would probably be necessary, if only to reassure the Natives. If the people on the African Affairs Board made a farce of it they could be replaced, and if the same thing happened a second time, the Board would have to go."
>
> (Mr G. A. Davenport, Minister of Education in Southern Rhodesia, ' Rhodesia Herald ' of 25th June 1952.)

Many competent observers in the U.K. stated that the Federal Act meant a genuine transfer of sovereignty and that accordingly no safeguards could be effectively operated from this country or from any watchdog committee in Central Africa responsible to this country but subordinate in Central Africa. Subsequent developments have proved them, unfortunately, to have been true prophets.

RESULTS OF FEDERATION

Dangerous Developments Giving Reason For Anxiety

Within the last two years the power of the Federal Government relative to the U.K. Government and to the population of Central Africa has grown immensely. Parallel to this has gone a grave deterioration in African

goodwill. Efforts to translate " partnership " into reality have failed to be fast enough or to have sufficient appeal. In this connection we would draw attention to the Statement of the Blantyre Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian which is much more moderate and understanding than the typical announcement made nowadays by Nyasaland Africans. (Appendix I.)

There would appear to be sound objective grounds for the Africans' mounting distrust and suspicion. The Government of the United Kingdom has made three great concessions which have increased the powers of the Federal Government, cut deep into *de facto* Protectorate status, and seemed to encourage groups in Central Africa which are critical of the British Colonial Office. These concessions are :—

I. The Joint Announcement of 27th April 1957 at London.
II. The Constitution Amendment Act (U.K. debate in November 1957).
III. The Federal Electoral Act (U.K. debate in February 1958).

I. The Joint Announcement

After some discussions between Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, and Mr Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the following Joint Agreement was made public :—

" 1. The Federal Prime Minister had represented that the time had come for the Federation to assume more responsibility for external affairs. The U.K. agreed to entrust this responsibility to the fullest extent possible.
2. In future, the Prime Minister of the Federation would have direct access to the Sovereign in certain special matters.
3. The United Kingdom Government would not initiate any legislation to amend or repeal any Federal Act, except at the request of the Federal Government.
4. It was agreed that all Civil Services in the Federation would eventually be locally based.
5. It was agreed that the Conference to review the Constitution would be convened in 1960. Its purpose would also be to agree on further constitutional advances. ' The Conference will consider a programme for the attainment of such a status as would enable the Federation to become eligible for full membership of the Commonwealth.' "

It seemed possible that the rapid and dramatic rise of African peoples in other parts of Africa (*e.g.*, Independence of Ghana, 1957) and the French *Loi cadre* (1956) had caused the white settlers of Central Africa to accelerate the drive towards disengagement from London lest more power would come into the hands of other sections of the population too soon. The agreement on the date in Section 5 should be studied against the background of Article 99 of the Federal Act, which reads :—

> " Not less than seven or more than nine years from the date of the coming into force of this Constitution (1953) there shall be convened a conference consisting of delegations from the Federation, from each of the three Territories and from the United Kingdom, chosen by their respective Governments, for the purpose of reviewing this Constitution."

II. The Constitution Amendment Act

The Federal Government, with this advantage, proceeded to use the provisions of Article 97 of the Federal Act to change the membership of

the Federal Assembly. This Article, which is on the Amendment of the Constitution, contains the following clauses :—

> " The Federal Legislature may amend the Constitution provided that any Bill for the amendment shall not be deemed passed unless at the final vote it receives the affirmative vote of not less than two-thirds of the Assembly ; and, if passed, shall be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. If any constitutional Bill . . . is also required by Article 75 . . . to be reserved . . . for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, Her Majesty shall not assent thereto otherwise than by Order in Council. No order proposed shall be submitted to Her Majesty . . . unless a draft thereof has been laid before each House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and neither House has, within a period of forty days beginning with the day on which the draft is laid before it, resolved that the Order should not be submitted to Her Majesty. . . ."

The Federal Parliament soon passed the Constitution Amendment Bill with the requisite two-thirds majority in the autumn of 1957. According to the official Memorandum published with it, this Bill had three purposes :—

(*a*) to enlarge the Federal Assembly to fifty-nine by adding twenty-four new members, of whom six must be Africans ;
(*b*) to enable the Federal Assembly to pass later on an Electoral Act for the election of fifty-three of these fifty-nine (the other six being the two specially appointed European custodians of African interests and the four specially elected African members for the Northern Territories) ;
(*c*) to replace the group of members whose race was specified by ordinary elected members whose race was not laid down.

The principle contained in (*c*) was the best ingredient in the Bill. All its other features were retrogressive and, in the racial circumstances, dangerous.

(i) While in the original Federal Act the 5,000,000 Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland controlled the election of four African members in a house of thirty-five, now it was arranged in a house of fifty-nine that they still controlled the same number.

(ii) A house of six Africans and twenty-nine Europeans (three representing African interests) was expanded to one of fifteen Africans and forty-four Europeans (three representing African interests). It could be claimed that the same ratio was being retained—roughly 3 : 1. But the difference between the groups rose from seventeen to twenty-nine.

(iii) Arrangements were made for two Voters' Rolls, a General Roll for those with either high educational or financial qualifications, and a Special Roll for those with lower financial qualifications. Africans from the north would be divided into two categories—at least the minority who would qualify—(*a*) those elected by voters on the two rolls (mainly whites) and (*b*) those elected through the African Councils. Inevitably the former would be looked upon as pawns by most Africans. That has in fact happened.

This Bill was bitterly opposed not only by the African National Congresses but by the more moderate, statutory organisations—the African Representative Council in Northern Rhodesia and the Provincial Councils in Nyasaland.

The African Affairs Board reported that this Bill differentiated against Africans and had it reserved and referred to Her Majesty.

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Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, stated that the U.K. Government would not support the Board.

The Opposition in the House of Commons called for a debate. They were defeated by 301 votes to 245 on the 25th November 1957.

It must be recognised that this decision by the British Parliament rejecting a reference from the African Affairs Board, although constitutionally permissible, came as a shock to many people in this country and in Africa and thus had the unfortunate result of destroying confidence in this seeming safeguard of African interests.

III. The Federal Electoral Act

The Federal Government pressed on with the Electoral Bill, which was logically connected with the one just mentioned. It covered the fifty-three seats mentioned above. It dealt with both representation and qualifications for the franchise.

Representation.—It divided the group of members concerned into (*a*) forty-four whose race is unspecified (Southern Rhodesia, twenty-four; Northern Rhodesia, fourteen; Nyasaland, six—in inverse proportion to population!); and (*b*) nine whose race is specified (four Africans and one specially elected European from Southern Rhodesia and two Africans from each of the northern protectorates).

It arranged for two Voters' Rolls with different qualifications. Those on the General Roll would vote for both groups. Those on the Special Roll would vote for (*b*).

Qualifications.—The best element in this Act was that it extended the franchise to cover not only *citizens* of Rhodesia and Nyasaland but *British Protected Persons* in the north. They had to be at least twenty-one years old and able "to speak, read, write in and comprehend English." In addition the following conditions had to be met :—

For the General Roll—

From income of £720 per annum or property valued at £1,500 to income of £300 per annum or property of £500 plus Cambridge Overseas School Certificate.

Provision was also made for recognised and trained ministers of religion and literate Chiefs.

For the Special Roll—

Income of £150 per annum or property of £500.

Income of £120 per annum plus Form II. in a Secondary School.

(*N.B.*—In all cases the property is declared to be "immoveable" so as, among other things, to exclude cattle !)

Once more the African Affairs Board protested strongly and sent the Bill to the U.K.

Once more the Opposition called for a debate.

Once more (18th February 1958) the Government supported the Federal Government against the African Affairs Board.

Once more the tension rose in Central Africa, especially Nyasaland. Again liberal whites were disappointed.

Sir John Moffat, Chairman of the African Affairs Board, spoke as follows :—

"The African peoples were told in meeting after meeting of the safeguards which the Constitution contained for them. They were

told they would have their own spokesman in the Federal House and—mark this well—that they would elect their own spokesmen. We pledged our word. . . . Must I tell them now that the assurances which I gave in good faith that they would elect their own representatives are false, and that the Federal Government . . . will see that European voters flood them out ? "

(Reported in 'East Africa and Rhodesia' for 2nd January 1958.)

Significant Trends within the Territorial Governments

Within the last year some disquieting developments have been taking place outside the sector of what is technically Federal politics. The influence of the Federation is felt deep in the structure of Territorial political life. This has happened not only on account of administrative and economic factors.

The policy of the United Federal Party is now to run candidates in Territorial elections. Feelers have also been put out from time to time about subtracting some Territorial functions—*e.g.*, Police—and making them Federal.

Southern Rhodesia

Mr Garfield Todd, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, in 1957 made some moves towards a liberalisation of the franchise in Southern Rhodesia. These advances, though they would probably be thought timid by liberals in most parts of the world, led to his downfall. In January 1958, almost certainly as a result of the British Government's unfortunate behaviour in connection with the Constitution Amendment Act, four of his Cabinet resigned and efforts were made by many in his party to get him to resign. In the end he had to. It is symbolic of the trend in Southern Rhodesia that when Sir Edgar Whitehead, who was called from a diplomatic post to succeed him, stood in a bye-election, he was defeated by a member of the Dominion Party—the more reactionary group who stand for complete autonomy for the whole Federal Government and a considerable measure of " apartheid " in Central Africa generally. Mr Todd formed a small party (U.R.P.) which contested the Southern Rhodesian Territorial elections in June 1958. The final figures for the votes cast in the thirty constituencies of this country of over two million people were :—

Dominion Party, 18,314 ; United Federal Party, 17,516 ; United Rhodesia Party, 3,991 ; Independents, 67.

In fact the United Federal Party gained more seats than the Dominion Party.

Northern Rhodesia

In March 1958 the Colonial Secretary brought out a White Paper for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia. It was largely patterned on the Southern Rhodesian and Federal concepts of electoral " reform." Although more daring than these it made no large-scale extension of the franchise. It stopped far short of racial parity for example. An ordinary roll, mainly European, and a special roll, mainly African, are the foundation. On this are to be built twelve constituencies, six of which will be in the Copper Belt. Here the ordinary voters will predominate—although Europeans are a small minority. In this area special votes will count for not more than one-third of the total of ordinary votes cast. In the other six constituencies special voters will predominate, but ordinary voters will

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also be able to make their presence felt. In order to give some kind of representation to urban Africans and rural Europeans there will be two large urban constituencies in which the special voters will predominate and two large rural constituencies in which the ordinary voters will predominate. Thus each voter will vote twice—once for each race.

The most controversial feature of the proposals, however, was the introduction of two Africans into the Executive Council—the Cabinet of the Legislature. Enormous pressure was brought to bear on the Colonial Secretary to withdraw one or both of these. Despite Sir Roy Welensky's flight to London after his election victory in November to put the United Federal Party's case against this, the British Government stood firm.

It is to be regretted that the Colonial Secretary felt obliged to make the following concession to the United Federal Party :—

> ". . . the Governor, before selecting the unofficials whom he will recommend for appointment as Ministers, should consult with and pay due regard to the advice of the member of the Legislative Council who as party leader is in the Governor's opinion most likely to command the support of a majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council : and that in making his selection he should first consider elected members. That same member of the Legislative Council would be among those whom the Governor would consult before nominating the two unofficial members of that Council."

Nyasaland

Until 1956 the Nyasaland Legislative Council had ten official members (including the Governor as President) and nine non-officials—three Africans, one missionary representing African interests, one Asian, and four Europeans.

Since 1956 the chamber has been constituted as follows :—

> The Speaker, twelve official members, six non-African, and five African members of the unofficial group—total twenty-three.

At that time the U.K. Government expressed the hope that by 1960 a new and inter-racial approach would be worked out.

The Rev. A. B. Doig has written :—

> ". . . The trend of debates in the Legislative Council in the past few years holds little promise that this hope will be fulfilled easily. Talks have already been started (late 1958) by the Governor on the nature of the reform. The urgency of it lies in the need, if at all possible, to reach an acceptable constitution for Nyasaland before a delegation representative of the Territory has to be sent to the Conference to be held to review the Federal Constitution in 1960."

A new White Paper will appear between the time of the writing of this Report and the General Assembly. It is almost certain that it will be based on a continuance of the present overall majority of Colonial Office officials plus African members. The new Constitution is scheduled to come into force in March 1960. Meanwhile the Governor has asked all groups in Nyasaland to put forward suggestions. The African Nyasaland Congress has suggested a Legislature of forty, of whom thirty-two would be Africans, six European unofficials, and two Colonial Office officials. The Indian

community has suggested one member of each race for each constituency—like Tanganyika.

(The population is : 2,600,000 Africans ; 7,000 Europeans ; and 9,000 Asians.)

The British Labour Party has suggested an African majority in the Legislature and racial parity in the Executive Council.

Meanwhile the overwhelming demand for complete secession from the Federation amongst the Africans is undiminished. Indeed it seems to be growing. Any economic benefits which have accrued from Federation have not been appreciated by the people. Many of them have declared that they will be prepared if necessary to drop their standard of living in order to be independent. It is very important that they should be offered every reasonable means of expounding and defending their point of view. If they are denied this in 1960, what is now a potentially dangerous situation may develop into a grave security problem.

Federal Elections

The first Federal Elections based on the new legislation took place last November.

Only 7 per cent of the total population voted. Africans argued that even if they did vote they could make no significant change along the lines they wanted.

The figures were :—

United Federal Party, 37,145 ; Dominion Party, 22,630 ; Constitution Party, 2,340 ; Independents, 2,390 ; Confederate, 55.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS

It is difficult to quote statistics to prove that the economic benefits of Federation are in fact all that was claimed, for so many factors enter into the picture of the greatly expanding economy of the country during the last few years.

It is clear that the creation of a large and better balanced economic unit has opened opportunities for many major developments, such as the Kariba power scheme, and that much capital investment from abroad has resulted, opening up possibilities of development that could benefit all the peoples of the Federation.

It is equally clear that capital will just as certainly take flight if such a basic tragedy as the breakdown of racial partnership should precipitate the whole Federation into unstable conditions where all peaceful development is imperilled. (This is no idle fear in the growing atmosphere of racial opposition.)

Nor must it be forgotten that the African's well-being does not depend on large sums becoming available for enormously expensive modern European buildings and services. The African will rightly demand rather the raising of his own living standards, the increase of training facilities, the development of his land, and of educational, medical and other social services, particularly in rural areas. The economic argument for Federation does not impress the African, for he has not seen the claimed benefits operating amongst those most requiring aid from the State. Failure to take bold and imaginative measures in this direction, in active consultation with African leaders, has largely brought the argument of " economic benefits " into disrepute in African eyes.

THE 1960 CONFERENCE

It is now definite that representatives of the five Governments will confer next year on the subject of changes to the Federal Act.

Most Europeans in Central Africa regard the 1960 Conference as the occasion when Dominion status can be demanded and obtained. This is the expressed view of the United Federal Party which governs the Federation. They would, of course, be prepared to erect other safeguards for Protectorate status in the north, but the main argument of this Report has been that once the main functions of government have been alienated there is no effective method of operating entrenched clauses, preambles or special watchdog committees from a distance. The Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (plus a growing element in Southern Rhodesia) regard this Conference as the testing time to see whether Federation is to continue or not. They fear the severing of Colonial Office protection.

" (The Africans) got a Federation they opposed and feared, but they also got an undertaking that the next stage in constitutional advance—Dominion status—would not take place until the majority of the people agreed to it. This guarantee was in the Constitution. The people of Southern Rhodesia accepted it in a referendum and therefore it was doubly binding on them. . . . The Africans opposed Federation five years ago and would oppose independence now for the same reason—they consider their future is made less secure. But the difference is that while it was possible for us to go ahead with Federation in spite of African opposition, for Dominion status this is not so."

(Sir John Moffat, ' Rhodesia Herald,' 23rd November 1958.)

Considerable ammunition is provided to extremists on both sides by the cry that the Federation's future is a matter of " party " politics in the United Kingdom. The Committee is of the opinion that stronger efforts should be made in this country to achieve a bi-partisan approach on the main issues.

This Committee feels that the scope of the agenda of this Conference will be crucial and should include a fearless examination of the possibility of the refashioning of the present Federal structure along lines that will go further to meet the criticisms of the Africans, especially the inhabitants of Nyasaland, than anything suggested in official circles since 1952. Indeed the nature of the agenda may well determine whether the Africans of Nyasaland will boycott the Conference or not. The Committee also feels that there should be adequate and proper representation of Africans' opinions.

The Committee is convinced that the granting of Dominion status without the consent of the majority of the people would be premature and dangerous.

January 1958.

GEORGE F. MACLEOD, *Convener.*
KENNETH MACKENZIE, *Secretary.*

[APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

STATEMENT OF THE SYNOD OF BLANTYRE OF THE C.C.A.P. CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF UNREST IN NYASALAND—MARCH 1958

(*a*) *Preamble*

We believe it is at all times a duty of the Church to express its views on the affairs of society and in all humility to pronounce what it believes to be a Christian judgment on matters affecting the life of the people of this land. To remain silent would be a betrayal of the Church's faith in Christ as the Lord of all mankind by whom our lives individually and corporately are judged and by whom alone they can be well ordered. In observing this duty of the Church we are pronouncing the view of the majority of the Church's membership, while scrupulously preserving the rights of minorities to differ from these expressed views of the Church and retain all rights of membership.

We do not believe that the Church should take sides in party politics or lay down political programmes, but this must not prevent it from expressing views on matters concerning which political parties have views. This should not make it possible for any one political party to say that the Church is either in support of, or in opposition to, that party.

It is therefore because of the strong feeling expressed by Synod concerning the state of the country at this time that this statement has been prepared and is issued by the authority of Synod.

(*b*) *The Present Unrest*

This Synod is deeply concerned at political developments which have taken place in Nyasaland since Federation was instituted and the effects of these upon the people. There is no gainsaying that Federation imposed against the will of the majority of people here has produced a deep and widespread feeling of unrest which is like a poison among the people, destroying race relations and leaving bitterness and hate where trust and love prevailed before. In 1952 Mr Welensky said that once Federation was introduced the fears of African leaders would prove by experience to be unfounded. This has not been the case. Fears for future security and political stability have increased and in many cases are proving to be well founded. The fact that only a handful of Africans are in active support of Federation shows the complete failure of Government to convince the people by word and deed of the value of Federation. It is untrue to say that this unrest is confined to the educated Africans ; it is found in every village. The people may not be politically articulate or active (they have no means of being so, due to the weakness of political party organisations), but they see Federation making Nyasaland like Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. Almost every family has at least one member who has worked there. They don't want that kind of white domination, race segregation, and discrimination here. These are the effects of Federation which they feel and see most clearly and all their fears expressed in former years against Federation being instituted are being realised. No amount of increased wealth to the country can balance these spiritual matters and settle these deep feelings of unrest amongst the people. In Nyasaland good race relationships were a reality before Federation began ; they are now being destroyed.

(c) *The Causes of this Unrest*

Many factors are working together to produce this unrest. Some are large political issues which, while they are of vital importance for the future, do not necessarily impinge upon the life of the people at this present time. But other issues do affect the people directly and immediately, although sometimes subtly. We would point to such factors as the following :—

(i) There is a quite new attitude to Africans amongst Europeans—particularly newer immigrants—which has its origin in South Africa and Rhodesia. Federation has encouraged increased European immigration. Likewise the replacement of Colonial Civil Servants with Federal Civil Servants with " a stake in this country " is viewed with the utmost alarm. It would seem that large numbers of Territorial Civil Servants have refused to accept Federal terms when offered them and are being replaced by men with a basically different outlook. Likewise the knowledge that Government administrators have been ordered to commend Federation to the African people is destroying trust in District and Provincial Commissioners. The old boast that Nyasaland is a land without colour bar is no longer true.

(ii) The increase in Special Police activities and the widespread employment of police informers, directed against essentially law-abiding people whose only offence is their attitude to Federation, is creating contempt for the law as such. Such incidents as the following could be multiplied : schoolchildren are questioned concerning their teachers, prominent visitors with known liberal views have been followed round the country, Europeans have been asked to report on the activities of their colleagues, sermons are the subject of special police reports, reputations are viciously maligned with no possibility of answer or regard for the truth, no public meeting can be held without informers or detectives being present. These developments are very keenly resented here.

(iii) Other bitter fruits of Federation are similar restrictions of civil liberties which particularly affect Africans, such as the continuance of Emergency Regulations preventing the free association of persons in public meetings without a police permit (often difficult to obtain in time for adequate publicity to be given). Freedom of speech, freedom of meeting, freedom of movement are all being seriously restricted without real cause.

(iv) The hatred and racialism expressed by all sides in the Legislative Council makes sorry reading in this country and is a real expression of the present state of tension and unrest.

(d) *Particular Political Affairs which focus this Unrest*

(i) The Constitutional Amendment Act and the Federal Electoral Act have both been passed against vehement opposition by Africans and others. This Synod deplores the introduction of these measures against the expressed will of the majority of people here, especially in view of the overriding of the views of the African Affairs Board, the only constitutional safeguard for African rights. The passing of this legislation has opened a new stage of bitterness, and hostility. Even the African Affairs Board will be weakened in its representation of real African interests, in view of the fact that its membership will

in future be appointed from those who, in majority, have been elected by Europeans.

(ii) *Dominion Status.*—The Preamble to the Constitution declared that the people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue to enjoy separate government under the protection of Her Majesty for as long as their respective peoples so desire. It is difficult to understand therefore how the Federal Government can demand and work for Dominion status in the near future. This is the cause of one of the greatest fears amongst Africans. They see their country becoming a "Native Reserve" on the South African pattern and various statements made by European political leaders have aggravated this fear. There can be no possible doubt about the view of the majority of people in this land—*they want Protectorate status to continue at the present time.*

(*e*) *The Tragedy of this Situation*

Nyasaland became and has remained a Protectorate by the free choice of chiefs and people. Christian foundations have been firmly laid. Trust and goodwill have been established between Africans and Government officials, missionaries, traders, and settlers. Respect for law and the justice of British rule has been built up. There was a common assumption that British protection would continue until the indigenous people were capable of and took over the government of their own country. Education was aimed at raising up a body of responsible political opinion. African Congress was recognised and encouraged by Government.

Federation has reversed all this. It is now widely felt that Nyasaland has been betrayed by the United Kingdom. The greatest tragedy, however, is the failure of the Federal and Territorial Governments to realise the potentialities and opportunities present to-day. There is a new spirit abroad which, if harnessed, could become a mighty force for good and progress. Too often this is described as " black nationalism " and is looked upon as something to be feared and, if possible, destroyed, or at least hindered.

As a Synod whose affairs have been in mainly African hands for many years and who are now well-nigh completely independent in control of our own affairs, we feel the keenness of this tragedy of neglect in national affairs.

This awakened spirit can also become, when wrongly used, a force for evil, with tragic results.

(*f*) *Synod's Position*

Synod is aware of the need for moderation and careful speech in these difficult times. Sometimes, however, to say nothing is to deny the truth. Synod therefore feels it urgently necessary to say that it is unanimously opposed to Federation as it has been seen in practice over these years. We see no hope of a peaceful, and righteous, future for all the people of this land (whatever be their race) under the present form of Federal Government. It is not for us to say what the alternative should be—whether independence with its possible financial disabilities, or some new form of Federation, or a complete revision of the present form, or some other course. What we do say is that no political scheme can succeed which does not take full recognition of the equal worth of all men in the sight of God and plans to build a just society on that premise. While the present situation continues it is likely that extremists will gain more and more

support simply because moderate opinion is not considered. Hate and greed for personal privilege increase rapidly and know no racial bounds.

(*g*) *Synod's Appeal*

(i) This Synod appeals to Christians of all races in this land, and to its own members in particular, to strive by every means in their power, to help understanding between races, and to build a peaceful, righteous society. The Church has the secret of living together at peace—we must show it in our own life together, and by our real love for all men.

(ii) This Synod appeals to the people of Scotland through the Church of Scotland to remember their ancient links with the people of this land, and consider their political responsibilities towards us as exercised by the United Kingdom Government.

(iii) This Synod appeals to all with authority in this land to take heed of this unrest before worse befalls. We feel that radical remedies are required and must be planned and brought about quickly in order to establish social peace with justice.

In the name of the Synod of Blantyre, Church of Central Africa Presbyterian,

REV. ALLAN THIPA, *Moderator.*

APPENDIX II.

The following White Papers are of value in studying this great problem:—

Central Africa: Report of the Conference on Closer Association. (March 1951.) Cmd. 8233.
Geographical, Historical and Economic Survey. (1951.) Cmd. 8234.
Comparative Study of Native Policy. (1951.) Cmd. 8235.
Draft Federal Scheme. (1952.) Cmd. 8573.
Report of the Judicial Commission. (1952.) Cmd. 8671.
Report of the Fiscal Commission. (1952.) Cmd. 8672.
Report of the Civil Service Preparatory Commission. (1952.) Cmd. 8673.
Report by the Conference on Federation. (1953.) Cmd. 8753.
The Federal Scheme. (1953.) Cmd. 8754.

APPENDIX III.

SOME NOTES ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM FOR NYASALAND

By the Rev. Andrew B. Doig

Introduction

The last change in the Nyasaland Constitution was in 1956. In the years immediately preceding, the membership of the Legislative Council was :—

Official Members, including Governor as President		10
Non-official—		
Europeans	4	
Asian	1	
African	3	
Missionary Member	1	
	—	9

In the 1956 revision the non-officials were divided between non-African and African, the former having six seats and the latter five. The missionary member was dropped and the official members, including the Governor as President, raised to twelve. Since then a Speaker has been appointed to replace the Governor as President and an official member added in the Governor's place to maintain the official majority. The Council thus became :—

Speaker ; twelve official members ; six non-African and five African members on the non-official side—total, twenty-three.

At the time of the revision in 1956 the Secretary of State expressed the hope that by 1960 a new approach could be worked out that would be non-racial. The trend of debates in the Legislative Council in the past few years holds little promise that this hope will be fulfilled easily. Talks have already been started by the Governor on the nature of the reform. The urgency for it lies in the need, if at all possible, to reach an acceptable Constitution for Nyasaland before a delegation representative of the territory has to be sent to the Conference to be held to review the Federal Constitution in 1960.

Considerations to Bear in Mind

1. *Population Contrast.*—The population of Nyasaland is approximately 2,600,000 Africans ; 5,000 Europeans ; and 9,000 Asians.

2. *Nyasaland is a Protectorate* in which the United Kingdom Colonial Office exercises control and responsibility. This link is greatly valued by Africans. Successive statements of policy have given priority to African interests and to the interpretation of Lugard's claim that African institutions be used as vehicles of government. Thus the system of electoral colleges for choosing African representatives has, by the build-up from district to provincial to protectorate level, given the feeling of total communal representation.

3. *Nyasaland is a State within a Federation.*—The original opposition of the Africans to closer association with Southern Rhodesia and the growing suspicion through disappointment at continued racial discrimination and resentment at unwelcome legislation, has caused a deterioration in race relations and consequently accelerated the demand of the African for visible progress towards self-government in terms of an African majority. Any constitutional reform must be quite far-reaching to capture African confidence. The past years have shown how sadly often "too little is offered too late." Thus a qualitative franchise, once widely acceptable, is now viewed with great distrust, while a parity between Africans and non-Africans in the non-official section of Legislative Council—a system calculated to deal with a society so diverse in its parts by number and stages of development—possible of acceptance by Africans in 1956, is no longer entertained by them.

Nyasaland, as a State within a Federation, should enjoy constitutional progress according to its historical background and special character, and not have its representation and form of territorial government determined by a Federal pattern. This must be amply demonstrated in any constitutional reform.

4. *The Practice has been Racial Representation.*—Any change from it must command African confidence. The Africans are indeed themselves looking for a better way to express the total communal representation mentioned above in terms of a wide franchise, and any non-racial approach must take this into account. The phrase multi-racial State has no historic precedent in Nyasaland. The balancing of interests, so that one race shall not dominate another, is a new concept to the way Nyasaland has been taught to think under Colonial Office administration. The African does not question the need or right of other races in the economy and life of the country, but any non-racial approach that is to have hope of acceptance must acknowledge now that the only future for Nyasaland is as a State in which the straight will of the majority prevails, and that means a preponderance of Africans.

Those who would govern depend finally on the consent of the governed. This is the real success of the British Colonial Administration in Nyasaland. Despite sundry criticisms launched at them, the Administration has commanded confidence. The non-official immigrant, to have a full place in a legislature, must win a like confidence, or be content with continuance of communal representation, involving some arbitrary allocation of seats.

Possible Lines of Approach

In all three cases it is right to preserve the value of the official majority of the past and present by reserving legislation for Colonial Secretary's approval.

1. *A Common Roll with high qualifications* akin to the Federal or proposed Northern Rhodesian system.

Comment.—Traditional feeling of total community sharing in representation is lost. Racial tension is increased by feeling of loading chances against Africans, since qualifications are impossible of attainment by most through no fault of their own. There will be a negligible African influence in the total election, so that Europeans need not pay attention to African electors or face up to the challenge of winning confidence. The scaling down of the value of the vote of Africans to give impression of large numbers of Africans having experience of voting is resented.

2. *A Common Roll with very wide franchise* involving a clear African majority in all constituencies.

The seats could all be open to all races or a few could be reserved for non-Africans but still elected on a common roll. Such reservation could win acceptance among Africans.

3. *Communal Representation by separate African and non-African Rolls.* —This would be an extension of the present system. It recognises the contributions and concerns of the respective communities, permits of a healthy outlet for national expression, a thing that is written down far too much these days, but unfortunately this system gives no encouragement for candidates to think of any group other than their own. Nevertheless, if the party political system is felt to be the only reasonable development (though I doubt the value of it in Nyasaland's situation), it could happen if, with communal representation, party candidates could bring a division across racial barriers on matters of policy.

The obvious extension from the present would be to increase greatly African representation in acknowledgment of the considerations listed above.

Making a choice of these three, I would have no hesitation in opposing most strongly the first, reluctantly would accept the third if the second cannot be agreed to, but the second is the one that would win my enthusiastic support. I visualise it working out like this :—

Total Legislative Council—a Speaker and twenty members.
Of these, four could be officials and sixteen non-officials.
If the line of reserved seats is taken, the sixteen seats could be divided as four non-African and twelve African. This would permit of two candidates (one from each group) for each of four constituencies and eight for single-member constituencies.

Composition of Executive Council

Under any revision of the Constitution, this Council must have African members. If approaches 1 or 3 were put into operation, two Africans at least should be designated by race as members. If approach 2 is followed and all seats were open to all electors on common roll, four seats in Executive Council could be filled by the sixteen elected members choosing four of their number. If reserved seats were adopted, the four non-Africans would choose one of their number, the twelve Africans choose three of their number to serve on Executive Council. There should be an official majority on Executive Council and so the final result could be :—

Executive Council :—

The Governor as Chairman.
Four official members.
One non-African
Three Africans } non-officials.

October 1958.

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SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S COMMITTEE ANENT CENTRAL AFRICA

6TH MAY 1959

INTRODUCTION

IT was the Committee's hope, in its first report, that the issues would have a common appeal free from party interest: that Federation would not be carried a stage nearer Dominion status without the consent of the inhabitants: and that at the 1960 Conference reversion by a Territory to Colonial Rule, however regrettable, would be open to discussion.

Since that report was signed, disturbances have occurred so publicised that they need no recounting. In the light of our obligations, strengthened by so many communications addressed to the Church by the Courts of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, by missionaries, by Synods, Presbyteries, Congregations and individuals, we present this Supplementary Report.

We welcome recent assurances by the Secretary of the Colonial Office that no steps toward Dominion status will be taken without the consent of the inhabitants and that the Preamble to the Federal Constitution will be honoured.

We still hope that the issues may be kept above party, but we are convinced that, to prevent a partisan political approach in Great Britain, there are factors to be faced.

Until the Devlin Commission reports on the recent disturbances restraint in comment is proper. But the Committee respectfully request that this restraint be observed by all. For instance, Government Statements at home and in the Federation have cumulatively assaulted the public mind with the imminence of massacre. This has been claimed to justify the imprisonment without trial of hundreds of detainees. Almost equal publicity is given to the probability that none of these detainees will be brought to trial. Many of them are known intimately to some members of this Committee, are themselves members of Mission staffs, graduates of eminence and friends of moderation. It is impossible to identify them with plans for massacre.

So long as the record stands at no Europeans seriously harmed but 53 Africans killed, so long as no kind of evidence is made public of the Plot, so long as no kind of assurance is given that open evidence will ever be led, the Church at home must retain its doubts regarding the extent of the massacre plot, and especially the relationship of any plot to the vast majority of the detainees. The Church cannot conceive of any possibility of a return to normality till the detainees are either

released or condemned in open trial. The Committee are frankly embarrassed at the official assertion of the U.K. Government that the decision, for or against the ultimate prosecution of the detainees, is in the hands of the Justiciary. They find it impossible to believe that such decisions are unaffected by political considerations.

It is considered cogent to summarise other aspects of the present situation which we are bound closely to observe. If we are not to abrogate our pledged duty, as citizens and churchmen, to continue our protection of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, so long as they desire it, the following developments in the Federation and the Territories, in their light and shade, are to be noted.

A. THE FEDERATION

The Federal Government has taken some steps to allay the fears of Africans and extend the area of inter-racial co-operation on equal terms. For example, separate entries in Post Offices are now being abolished: there is no more racial segregation on railways or air services: a Race Affairs Office has been functioning for some time: and an African Chief Information Officer will take up duty in Rhodesia House, London, in the middle of the year on the same conditions of service as his European predecessor, thus demonstrating to this country that the Federal Civil Service is open to people of all races on the same terms.

It is clear, however, that these late and limited concessions can co-exist with an indefinite postponement of the real sharing of power between the small white minority and the emergent African middle classes. Such concessions hardly make up for the fact that partnership will continue to yield to the paramount policy of European leadership and control as long as the United Federal Party rules the Federation. This has been made plain many times by their spokesmen who frequently criticise African nationalist movements which are growing outside as well as within the Federal territories. The small numbers of Africans who voted for Federal candidates in the recent elections show that this is clearly recognised by those whom the Government is seeking to convince.

We regret that, in the view of the Committee, the Federal Prime Minister hardly fosters partnership in the Federation—as a bi-partisan possibility in the U.K.—by his irresponsible statements. He states :—

> ". . . We realised that we would inherit with Nyasaland a legacy of neglect over many years, a legacy of mishandling and a legacy of illwill engendered in part by persons in the U.K. including a bunch of politicians." (From his speech in the Federal Assembly on 7th April 1959.)
>
> "I venture to say that far more has been done in the five and a half years of Federation than was done, for example, in the previous sixty years of British rule in Nyasaland." (Article in *The Central African Examiner* of 25th April 1959.)

Further, he continues to make vague threats of independence under certain conditions :—

> ". . . I have no hesitation in saying that in certain circumstances we would 'go it alone.' I am not prepared to detail what those circumstances would be, but I think rather than put up with some of the attitudes that have been expressed towards us, particularly in the light of our record and what we have done in certain circumstances, we would go it alone." (*Sunday Mail* of 5th April 1959.)

The end-effect of such statements from one occupying his high position is to increase the pressure for Dominion status, to antagonise Africans in

the North and to exacerbate the party political conflict over Central Africa in Westminster.

Nevertheless, the most serious recent development in the area of Federal politics has been the absorption of the African Affairs Board by the United Federal Party. On the Board of the first Parliament there were two specially appointed Europeans, one specially elected European, and three specially elected Africans. The Board was at that time composed of four independent members (two Europeans and two Africans) and two Government members (one European and one African). But now the only independents on it are Mr Robert L. Moffat, younger brother of Sir John Moffat, and Mr J. L. Pretorius, a Dutch Reformed missionary from Mkhoma in Nyasaland. The other members all belong to the United Federal Party.

Mr Moffat said during the debate on the Speech from the Throne that the Board could no longer be regarded as independent or impartial and that the U.F.P. members would have to consider their party loyalties in any measure coming before them.

4D/5H/13

B. Southern Rhodesia

The Southern Rhodesian Territorial Government has in recent months and weeks made fresh efforts to restrict the social colour bar and put partnership into effect over greater areas of its industrial life.

The New Industrial Conciliation Act makes it possible for Africans to be legally recognised as employees and to join Trade Unions. The latter will be of a non-racial character.

Limited house-ownership is now possible for Africans in some urban sectors.

The Liquor Laws have been changed so as to extend to Africans the same privileges as have traditionally been enjoyed by whites.

There has been a slight relaxation of the pass-laws in some rural areas.

These steps are welcomed. It is all the more regrettable that the Government of Southern Rhodesia has increased African fears and suspicions and antagonised liberal opinion all over the world by passing the following Acts :—

The Native Affairs Act Amendment lays down that no person shall hold, preside at or address any meeting in reserves or tribal areas at which more than twelve *Africans* are present, without the permission in writing of the Native Commissioner. Anyone contravening this section may be fined up to £100 or put in jail for up to one year.

Any *African* who is insolent to any officer of the Southern Rhodesian or Federal Government or who is guilty of " contemptuous behaviour " towards any Government officer may be fined up to £50 or spend six months in jail. It is also an offence for an *African* to make any statement or do anything which is " likely to undermine the authority of any officer of the S. Rhodesian or Federal Government or to bring such officer, or any such Government Department, into disrepute or contempt."

The Unlawful Organisations Act.—This Act, with a life of five years, still gives unusually great powers to the executive in relation to the judiciary and greatly restricts basic human rights like that of free assembly. It bans, amongst other organisations, the Southern Rhodesian National Congress which had an inter-racial basis as Mr Guy Clutton Brock's membership demonstrated.

The Preventive Detentions (Temporary Provisions) Act provides that people arrested under the S. Rhodesian emergency regulations may be detained at the Governor's pleasure but that their names must be published from time to time in the *Gazette*. A review tribunal under a Judge or retired

Judge will be set up. It will be composed of a magistrate, a Provincial Commissioner and an ordinary Commissioner. This court will inspect reasons for detention. Detainees represented by counsel will be able to appear before it. Its proceedings will be in private and will not be published. The tribunal's report and recommendations will be laid before the Governor whose decision will be final. The Governor may restrict people to a certain area. He must review all detention and restriction orders every twelve months.

The charge is as follows: ". . . being concerned in any activities which in the opinion of the Governor are potentially dangerous to public safety or public order to such an extent that their continuance might necessitate the declaration of a state of emergency."

It is important to recall that this restrictive legislation in S. Rhodesia is still within the purview of the United Kingdom Parliament. The Southern Rhodesian Constitution Letters Patent (1923) provide that the Governor shall reserve for Her Majesty's assent Bills which *subject Africans to conditions, disabilities or restrictions to which Europeans are not also subjected,* unless he has previously received instructions about the Bill in question through a Secretary of State or unless the Bill contains a clause suspending its operation until Her Majesty's pleasure is known. We trust that these powers have not become a dead letter.

C. Northern Rhodesia

The Scottish people's present preoccupation with Nyasaland should not obscure the basic importance of Northern Rhodesia as the real test of Britain's desire to uphold Protectorate status. Like Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia was not conquered. Its peoples sought our protection. Our moral and constitutional relations to it are of the same order as those that bind us to Nyasaland. "If the imposition of federation on Nyasaland is wrong, imposing it on Northern Rhodesia is more so: the fact that this Protectorate is relatively wealthy and contains 80,000 Europeans (instead of Nyasaland's 8,000) is a source of future strength for it, and must not be made an excuse for abandoning its African inhabitants to European supremacy on the Southern Rhodesian pattern." (Dr C. T. Leys, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, in *The Spectator*, 6th March 1959.)

On 20th March a very important territorial election took place in N. Rhodesia.

Population: 2,100,000 Africans, 75,000 Europeans, Others 8,000.

Those entitled to vote were: Europeans, 20,566. Africans, 7,617. Asians, 2,051.

The point of view put before the electors by the United Federal Party was well illustrated by Mr Geoffrey Beckett—one of its most respected and responsible candidates—who said in a meeting at Mazabuka: "The British Government's right to impose policy and legislation in N. Rhodesia is the absolute canker at the political heart of this country." (*Central African Post* for 13th March 1959.)

The structure of the new Legislative Council is:—

12 Ordinary urban seats (on an almost wholly European electorate);
2 urban African seats (Europeans voting for Africans);
6 Special rural seats; 2 rural European seats;
6 Officials and 2 Governor's nominees. Total: 30.

The election results were as follows:—

United Federal Party: 13 seats. Central Africa Party: 3 seats.
Dominion Party: 1 seat. African National Congress: 1 seat.
Independents: 2 seats.

In one other constituency no valid nomination was forwarded.
In another no nomination of any kind was received.

The United Federal Party failed to obtain an absolute majority by three seats. Nevertheless, their leader, Mr John Roberts, immediately laid claim, on behalf of his party, to all the six unofficial seats in the Executive Council. (This Council, the real source of policy, is composed of four officials, six unofficials, and the Governor.) Four days later the Governor, presumably after consultation with the Secretary of State, offered ministerial appointments to six unofficials, five of whom are U.F.P. members. (The Colonial Secretary has yielded where he did not need to yield.)

The British Government's power of control and interference, even in the Territorial Government of one of its Protectorates, is now delicately balanced on a knife edge. The retreat of the Protecting power and the rapid growth of the power of the United Federal Party, mentioned in the First Report of this Special Committee, have continued not only unchecked but accelerated. Sir Roy Welensky's party, which is responsible neither to Westminster nor to Whitehall, has been given virtual control of the Cabinet of the key Protectorate. The group who control the Copper Belt control the political as well as the economic destiny of Central Africa. This also means that the United Federal Party may have the dominant influence in three out of the five Governments which will be represented at the 1960 Review Conference.

The time has come for the United Kingdom Government to re-assert its influence.

D. NYASALAND

In Nyasaland, after a series of disturbances, the Governor declared a State of Emergency on 3rd March and proscribed the Nyasaland African Congress and associated bodies. Widespread arrests of Africans were made. Some of the detainees were transferred to Federal prisons in Southern Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesian reservist troops, police from Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika and European Special Police of Nyasaland were put into action to assist the Nyasaland Police. Disturbances occurred at various places throughout the Protectorate. Some buildings and installations were damaged and road blocks constructed. In clashes between the security forces and groups of Africans, 53 Africans were shot dead. There were no European fatal casualties.

In the first three months of this year almost 1,000 Africans had been arrested for activities of a political nature.

On 23rd March, a Colonial Office White Paper was presented to Parliament concerning the State of Emergency and containing allegations of a Plan for Violence including murder, prepared by some of the Congress leaders. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Devlin, to enquire into and report on the causes and course of the disturbances in Nyasaland.

By 22nd April conditions in Nyasaland were quiet. Collective fines were imposed in some districts because of damage done. In Mlanje district this was estimated at 30s. per head—the same as the annual tax and approximately equal to the average monthly wage.

The Territorial Government has recently introduced a Bill which gives the Police wider powers of arrest, entry and search.

The Penal Code has also been amended to allow Courts to impose heavier sentences. It is now unnecessary to prove in a Court that a citizen has been put in fear of a breach of the peace by an illegal assembly, or frightened by a riot. It is sufficient to prove that the unlawful assembly is

likely to frighten a citizen or that a riot is likely to terrorise. The maximum sentence for rioting has been increased from two to five years' imprisonment.

A Bill has been introduced to amend the Children and Young Persons' Ordinance. The Courts may now, for the first time in the history of Nyasaland, sentence a male child or a young person to corporal punishment—six and twelve strokes respectively.

Comments

(*a*) The trouble that has occurred since the completion of the Report underlines one of its main points, that the Africans of Nyasaland are strongly opposed to the Federation, and emphasises the need for government with consent.

The time has passed for working with nicely balanced arrangements relating the Colonial Government, the European inhabitants, and the African population. The time has come for a daring and creative transfer of power to the African people. (See First Report, Appendix III.)

(*b*) No political solution can be effective without reconciliation. Attacks have been made in the Press on the Church of Scotland Mission and the C.C.A.P. This is to be regretted as it makes more difficult the Church's task of reconciliation, and it is the Church which must be the main agent in building up relationships of trust and understanding which have been seriously damaged if not destroyed.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we would make three general comments :—

(*a*) We trust that the over-all policy of the U.K. Government is not to discount and submerge nationalist sentiments. Nationalism is afoot all over the world. It can alternatively be judged sympathetically as essentially the awakening of a people to a consciousness of their human dignity or it can be written off as sedition. If the latter judgment stands, a form of peace and order can be imposed for a shorter, or even a longer, time. But, beneath the apparent peace, racialism is inevitably engendered. To sow the wind will reap a whirlwind.

(*b*) The fostering of human dignity is not only written into The Charter of Human Rights ; it is an indissoluble component of the Gospel that we preach. It is right that where economic advantages have accrued to the black people by their partnership with white people—as undoubtedly they have—full prominence to it should be given, as an advantage that will continue to accrue from that partnership. But it is essentially a leaf out of the Communist, and not the Christian, notebook to harp on this as the primary, almost the sufficient, justification of constitutional constructions. The African—and is he wrong ?—gives priority to the preservation of his human dignity. Adequate evidence, in deed as in word, of a like priority in the minds of the United Kingdom and Federal Governments is what he waits for. Convinced of that he would be still ready to embark on partnership.

(*c*) The Committee in their seeking to report realistically re-assert their conviction that a policy of Racial Partnership is yet possible of achievement in Central Africa.

GEORGE F. MACLEOD, *Convener.*
KENNETH MACKENZIE, *Secretary.*

N.B.—This is to certify that the following changes have been made in the text of the Supplementary Report which was presented to the General Assembly :—

Page 3, *Par.* 1.—The sentence beginning " In the first Parliament . . ." is replaced by " On the Board of the first Parliament there were two specially appointed Europeans, one specially elected European, and three specially elected Africans."

Page 5, *Par.* 1.—The phrase, " of whom two are nominated by the Governor," has been removed.

These changes do not, of course, affect the Minutes of the Assembly, which can only be changed by resolution of the Assembly.

KENNETH MACKENZIE,
Secretary, Special Committee Anent Central Africa.

Extract Deliverance on the Report and Supplementary Report of the Special Committee anent Central Africa.

At Edinburgh, the twenty-fifth day of May in the year One thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine years,—

Which day the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland being met and duly constituted,—*inter alia,*

1. The General Assembly view with concern the growing racial antagonisms in Central Africa, particularly in view of possible developments at the Conference reviewing the Federal Constitution in 1960.

2. The General Assembly instruct their Special Committee anent Central Africa to seek interviews with the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office, either by itself or in association with such other Churches and Christian societies as share their concern, and further instruct the Committee to present the views of the General Assembly to the Devlin Commission.

3. The General Assembly recommend that all efforts be made by the major political parties in this country to agree on a common policy in regard to this problem.

4. The General Assembly recommend that, while some form of close association is advisable, the agenda of the 1960 Conference should afford opportunity for Africans to state and expound their views on the refashioning of government in the Federal area. The General Assembly, mindful of the duties of H.M. Government as the protecting power in the two northern territories, urge that at that Conference full consideration be given to the opinions of the statutory bodies representing Africans—that is to say, in the case of Northern Rhodesia, the African Representative Council, and, in the case of Nyasaland, the three Provincial Councils.

5. The General Assembly request H.M. Government that at the 1960 Conference there be no development in the direction of Dominion status for the Federation without the consent of the majority of the inhabitants.

6. The General Assembly empower the Committee to report to the Commission of Assembly regarding ongoing developments and empower this Commission to act fully in their name in any matter relevant to the Committee's remit.

7. The General Assembly authorise an expenditure not exceeding £100 for the expenses of the Committee, and, in addition, permit the publication of the Report for sale.

8. The General Assembly commend this great issue to the continuing concern and prayerful interest of the whole Church. The General Assembly call on all inhabitants of the three territories to exercise patience at this critical time; on the Africans, to profit by every measure of increased franchise, to take full advantage of the various opportunities of advancement offered them, to practise the techniques of citizenship and government, and to demonstrate their abilities in this field; and on the Europeans to do all in their power to accelerate racial equality both in spirit and in letter.

9. The General Assembly, recognising that the time has come for a radical revision of the Territorial Constitution for Nyasaland, earnestly recommend to Her Majesty's Government that effective power be given to the African community in that land; which admits the possibility of an African majority in the Legislative Council.

10. The General Assembly feel that the continued detention without trial of Africans in Nyasaland will make future reconciliation extremely difficult, and request Her Majesty's Government to take steps to have these detainees brought to trial in a Court of Law or released immediately.

Extracted from the Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by

J. P. LONGMUIR,
Cl. Eccl. Scot.

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4/17/11

Saturday Review

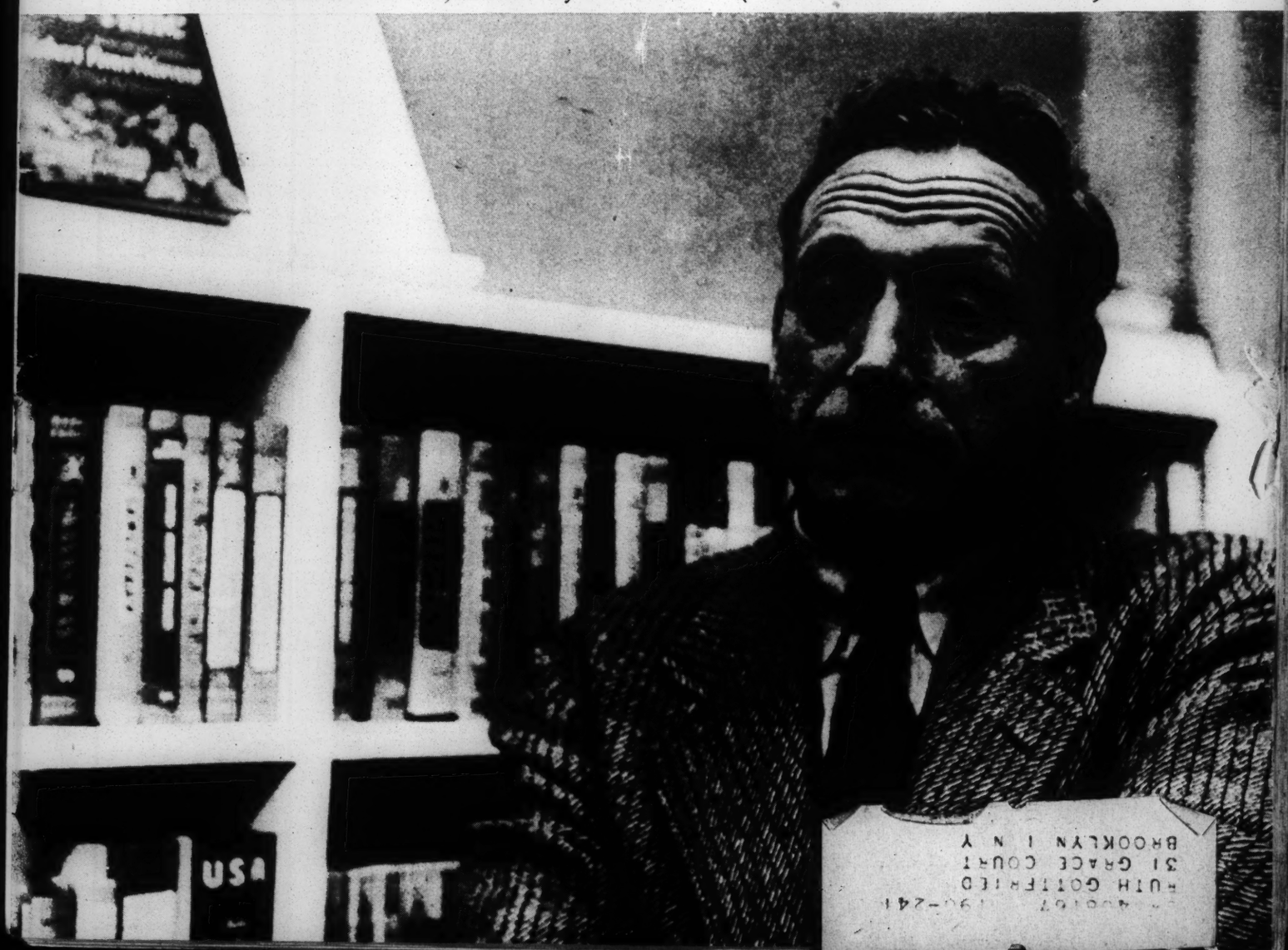
AUGUST 22, 1959 / 25¢

A RETURN TO HEROIC MAN, by Maxine Greene

I'D RATHER BE A GYPSY, by Ben Lucien Burman

F. Scott Fitzgerald's "Flappers and Philosophers," reviewed by Budd Schulberg

Robert Penn Warren, author of "The Cave" *(SEE LITERARY HORIZONS)*



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

IN AN ARTICLE "Interview with a Soviet Official" [*SR* Aug. 1], the person interviewed is reported as saying that my article in *The New York Times* last month about Governor Harriman's interview with Khrushchev was "false" and "absolute rubbish." Just to set the record straight, the relevant portions of my article were fully confirmed by Governor Harriman in his *Life* article in that magazine's July 13 issue. In addition, Governor Harriman has personally told me that he felt my article did not misrepresent the nature of his interview with Premier Khrushchev, even though, as the Soviet Official suspected, I did not receive my information directly from Governor Harriman.

It is a sad commentary on the information available to Soviet leaders that the Soviet Official cited in the article could not distinguish truth from falsehood.

HARRY SCHWARTZ,
The New York Times.

New York, N. Y.

WITH CLARITY TOWARDS ALL

THE VIEW OF Mr. Hicks [*SR* Aug. 1] expressed about "The Elements of Style" by W. Strunk and E. B. White is, in my opinion, a very correct one. That book—I own it—is really a valuable one.

In our time when language becomes an object of play by too many, it would be a good idea for all those who like to write—and write simply, to have that book.

MIKE KRYCUN.

Winnipeg, Canada

WHO'S A RACIST?

PERHAPS THE HEIGHT of irresponsibility is reached by Carl T. Rowan in his review of the biographies of W. E. B. DuBois and Martin Luther King [*SR* Aug. 1] when he calls DuBois an "irascible black racist."

It is true that Dr. DuBois is at times irascible but it is difficult to see how anybody who is familiar with him personally or his career could describe him as a racist. His whole life is a testimonial to the contrary.

Born in Massachusetts, he was educated at Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin, where most of his teachers and schoolmates were white. Subsequently at Atlanta University, where the faculty was mixed and the student body Negro (as at Fisk), Professor DuBois initiated and sustained for a dozen years what is generally regarded as the first "scientific, objective" sociology that the South knew. He left Atlanta to help found the NAACP, which was more racially mixed then (in 1910) than it is now.

DuBois always fought racism—black or white. He was termed a "mulatto collaborator with white folks" by Marcus Garvey, who stirred the masses of American Negroes with his advocacy of "black ideals," ranging all the way from "Black Cross Nurses" to a "Black Star Line" of steamships that would transport his followers to Africa.

As a scholar, educator, and editor of the *Crisis* magazine, DuBois never restricted himself to the company of Negroes—or even Americans! His reputation as a writer is world-wide.

Moreover, my "Crusader Without Violence" does not contrast DuBois and Martin Luther King; rather, King is a further development, with a new emphasis, of course, of the continuing struggle for equality and world culture.

L. D. REDDICK.

Montgomery, Ala.

THE OTHER SIDE

IT WOULD IMPROVE Professor Reddick's memory to read Mr. Broderick's biography of W. E. B. DuBois, particularly chapters four and five. They will impress upon Mr. Reddick a fact of which he apparently is not now aware: A Negro can associate with white people and still be guilty of black racism.

DuBois himself admitted (*Crisis* magazine, November 1927, page 311) that he was "one of the greatest sinners" in feeling intense prejudice toward white men, and he conceded that perhaps his feeling led him to cause anti-Negro prejudice. DuBois had said earlier (*Crisis*, August 1921, page 160) that to him a white face was "a sign of inherent distrust and suspicion." That same year he boasted in print that since an incident during his college days at Fisk he had never knowingly raised his hat to a Southern white woman. In October 1923, he said he took a "mean, almost criminal and utterly indefensible joy" in hearing of a mob that lynched a white man. In "Darkwater," published in 1921, DuBois wrote.

The white world's vermin and filth:
All the dirt of London,
All the scum of New York;
Valiant despoilers of women
And conquerors of unarmed men;
Shameless breeders of bastards,
Drunk with the greed of gold,
Baiting their blood-stained hooks
With cant for the souls of the simple;
Bearing the white man's burden
Of liquor and lust and lies! . . .
I hate them, Oh!
I hate them well,
I hate them, Christ!
As I hate hell!
If I were God
I'd sound their knell
This day!

Mr. Reddick may retain his opinion as to my responsibility or irresponsibility, but I hope he will let the record speak as to what is or is not black racism. My review suggested in no way that he was contrasting DuBois with King; *I* did the contrasting. Dr. King is, as my review made clear, an extension of the DuBois who fought injustices imposed upon Negroes, but I do not think even Prof. Reddick wants to argue that the Montgomery minister is an extension of the DuBois who wrote the passage quoted above.

CARL T. ROWAN.

Minneapolis, Minn.

THROUGH HISTORY WITH J. WESLEY SMITH

"That will be five years—with ten days added because of the change-over to the Gregorian calendar."

PAXINSTITU, VIENNA, AUSTRIA
SOUTH AFRICA

FOR THREE CENTURIES HAS PLANTED WAR, SLAVERY, THEFT, MURDER AND HATE. TODAY THE HARVEST HAS BEGUN

DU BOIS

41-116-13

Japan (Oct. 1959

カメラ・レポート

ボタ山のかげに生きる人たち

[Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyo
gikai]

日本労働組合総評議会

まえがき

毎年訪れる台風でありながら　その風水害による惨禍は年毎にひどくなるような気がする　九月下旬東海地方を襲った“伊勢湾台風”の被災者は　死者5千名を越え　1週間たった10月はじめでも　なお水のひかないわが家で　着るものも　食うものもなく　悲嘆にくれているという　荒れくるう自然の暴威――月ロケット着弾をよろこびあう時代に　これを“天災だ”といってあきらめきれようか　被災者は訴えている「堤防さえきれなかったら……」そこにはあきらめにかわる　“人災”へのきびしい抗議がふくまれている「国民のしあわせを忘れた偏何政治への抗議が…　これと同じように　食うや食わずの悲境のドン底にあえがされているのが炭鉱失業者の人たちである“炭界不況”という嵐は　北九州　常盤北海道の炭住街を泥海と化し　そのなかでもがき苦しんでいる人は北九州だけで失業者5万　家族をふくめれば20万を超すといわれ　その数は日毎に増える一方である　そのなかでとくにひどいといわれる筑豊地区のありのままの姿がこの写真集である

はじめにお願いしておきたいことは　この写真紹介は単に「可愛想だ」というお恵み的同情心をかりたてたいためではない　みていただければわかるように現状はたしかにひどい　そこで“なぜこうなったのか”“この人たちを救うにはどうすればよいのか”という写真の裏側にひそんでいる疑問をよみとってほしいことである

109 161

入口の板戸も天井も障子もなくガランとした室には下着入れの紙函があるだけだった

↑

たいていの子供はハダカで素足　そして年齢の割に体が小さく　下腹だけがやけに大きいすべて栄養不良のためだ

↓

↑電気も水道もとめられて　水はもっぱら井戸がたよりであるが　それも茶を入れれば真黒になる

←
子供におおいのが顔や手足のフキデモノ　くいもののセイだとわかっていてもどうにもならない

←
失対の仕事は　1日275円になるが　予算がないとかでなかなか仕事がもらえない　やっと許可されてもその日当は生活保護費から差引かれるから　くたびれ損だが　確実に手に入る日ゼニ275円はやはり最大の魅力だ

↓近くの野山には、もう食えそうな草木は1本もない　そこで暇をみてはウラ山を耕やして

←「さいきん犬　猫をはじめネズミ1匹いない」という部落もある　いつの間にか食われてしまったのだ　ミカン箱一函60円のボタ拾いも1日12時間探してやっと半分というくらいスミもなくなった　このあとどうやって生きてゆけばよいのか

俺たちは仕事が欲しい！

「俺たちは仕事が欲しい」田川地区では、今年の4月に生活保護者組合ができ、全日自労、地区労の協力のもとに、福祉事務所との積極的な集団交渉がもたれている

40/9/162

むしばまれゆく教育

雨が降ったらカサがない　両親が作らされてたあとの子供の世話　勉強より遊ぶことがまさった　などの理由で長欠児童は増加傾向をたどっている　田川地区のある中学校では八〇人余中三六名もが

学校にはゆきたいんだけど　運動会や修学旅行の話がでるので嫌だと今日も母親とマキ拾いに行った
↑

娯楽施設なんてなにもなく　借り本のマンガか紙芝居ぐらい　一つ5円の菓子を買うと大人をふくめた倍以上の子供たちが　ワンサと集まる
↓

今日を生きるのが精いっぱい

40/9/160

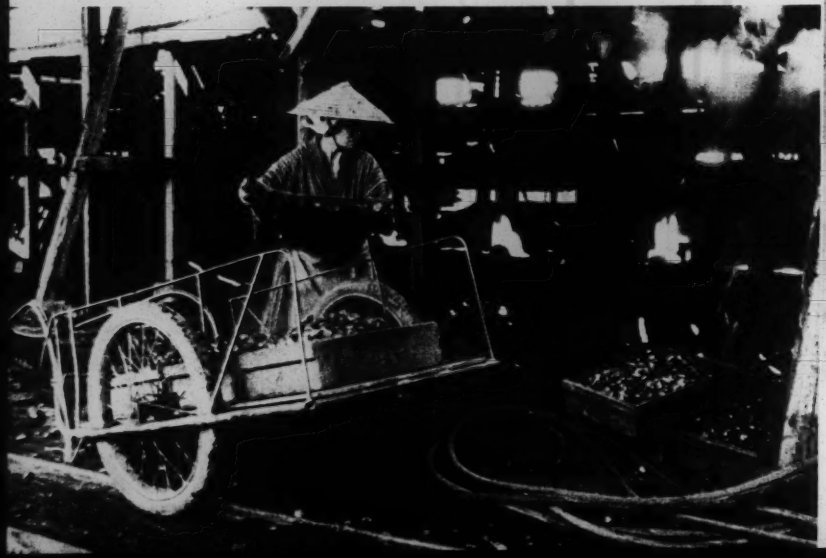
(衣)

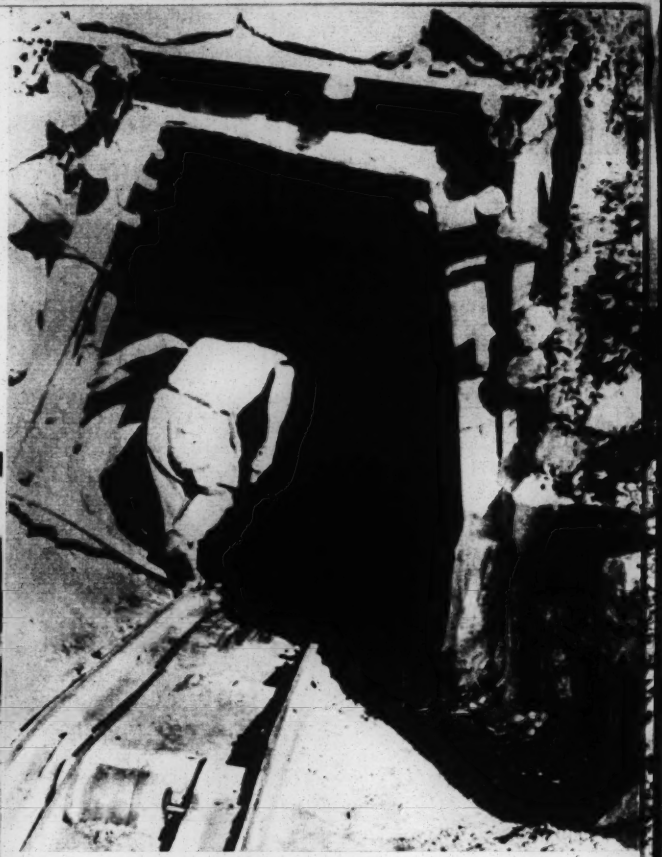
めぼしいものは　すべて質草となってその日をしのいできた　これが目下の全財産であり　物干竿は
タンスがわりである　いまでは生活保護受給証を質草に　生きるために毎月2割の利子も払っている

この交渉には生活保護者　失対労務者も自発的に参加し「俺たちの生活は犬や猫、いやそれ以下だ」「俺たちの子供は運動会に行かんでもよいというのか」など堂々と訴えていた

劣悪な労働条件と闘い
クビ切りと闘う炭労の仲間たち

炭鉱のクビ切りは今年から大手にも火がつき　さらに3万5千の仲間が焼出されようとしている　いまでさえひどい労働強化に追われているのに　これ以上のクビ切りがでたらどうなる「去るも地獄　残るも地獄」の合言葉で　炭労の仲間たちは　いまたち上っている





←↑ 不況に名をかりた会社側は　完全な設備を怠り　危険をおかして働らく労働者に　すべてオンプされている

住

（右）犬や牛馬だってもっとましな家に住んでいる―― 炭住の一部 →

おばあさんの額にきざみこまれたシワは　ボタ山の立ジワとともに　炭住のたどった苦脳のシンボルである ↓

↑ 荒れるにまかせた“炭住”冬将軍がくるたびに長屋の形もかわってゆく　ここの壁板がなければ　きっと凍え死んだかも知れない

10/1/59

「団結こそがオイラの生活を守ってくれる」疲れた
↓ 体にもめげずオルグがくれば熱心に耳をかたむける

→

すでに炭労の仲間たちは立上っている　失業問題も合理化による首切りも決してわれわれと無関係ではない　炭労の闘いに勝つことはわれわれの生活を守ることなのだ

← 最後まで頑張るぞ！
団結を誓いあう炭労の仲間たち

あとがき

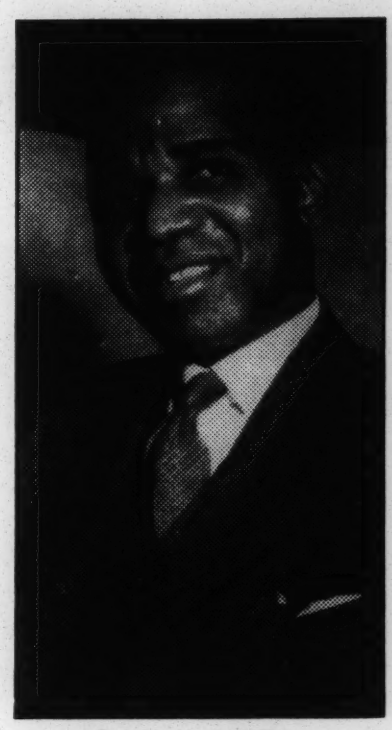
このように現地の悲惨さは　目を覆うばかりだ　そしてその症状は日増しに悪化の一途をたどり　もはやその場かぎりの応急手当ではどうしようもないくらいになっている　現地の人たちも「黙っていては死を待つばかりだ」とようやく組織化に目覚めはじめ　市　県　国への要求運動に立上っている　総評では　この窮地に追込まれた炭鉱失業者　またこれからクビを切られようとする炭労の仲間たちをまもるために「秋闘では炭労問題に全力を集中する」ことをきめている　そして現地の活動を激励しともに闘おうと誓い合う“米の一握りヤンパ運動”（全なら1人10円）もはじめている

われわれは炭鉱失業者が苦しんでいることは　自業自得ではなく適格な政治・対策を怠けた政府・経営者側の責任であることをよく見極め　国民与論をここにあつめて　根本的な対策樹立を政府に要求しなければならない　これだけが現地の人たちをしあわせにする唯一の道である

なおここに集録した写真は9月21日から現地開催した総評共同デスクならびに福岡県政研究会撮影のものを使用しました

Oct 1959

炭鉱失業者を救おう！



Dr. H. K. BANDA,
Leader of the Nyasaland African Congress

NYASALAND SPEAKS

An Appeal to the British People

by

M. W. KANYAMA CHIUME

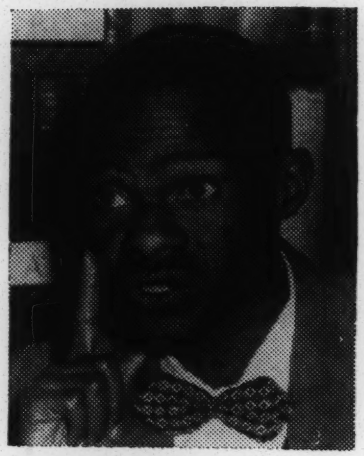
Member of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, and Publicity Secretary to the Nyasaland African Congress.

40/5H/9

A UDC & MCF Publication

Price **6d**

MR. KANYAMA CHIUME returned to this country to tell the British Public about the situation in his country. The U.D.C. and M.C.F. are glad to offer him, in this pamphlet, a chance to reach readers of our pamphlets and to place before them the point of view of his people.



We hope our readers will buy extra copies to give to friends and will do all they can to make the pamphlet reach as wide a public as possible. Extra copies may be obtained from Bookshops or from:

THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8, or MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM, 374 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.

(Single copies 6d. plus 2d. postage, one dozen or more 5s. 0d. a dozen)

I have never said a word in favour of force. All I have said has been against it—but I am at liberty to warn those in authority that justice long delayed, or long continued injustice always provokes the employment of force to obtain redress. It is in the ordering of nature and therefore of the Supreme that this is so, and all preaching to the contrary is of no avail. If men build houses on the slopes of a Vesuvius, I may tell them of their folly and insecurity, but I am not in any way provoking, or responsible for, the eruption which sweeps them all away. I may say too that Force, to prevent freedom and to deny rights, is not more moral than Force to gain freedom and secure rights.

John Bright, 1866

NYASALAND SPEAKS

On Tuesday, 3rd March, at midnight, the home in Blantyre, Nyasaland, of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the leader of the Nyasaland African Congress was surrounded by troops, and armed police.

A State of Emergency had been declared in Nyasaland, the Congress banned, and its leader arrested. All other prominent Congress officials and also African civil servants who might have spoken for the Africans were also detained.

The news reached me in Mombasa where I had left the ship taking me to a conference in Zanzibar. My own immediate impulse (seeing that Dr. Banda and all my other colleagues in Congress were in gaol in Southern Rhodesia) was to take an air ticket to Blantyre and give myself up to the forces which I knew were waiting to put me in gaol with my colleagues.

But my people — the Nyasas — living in Mombasa thought otherwise. They heard the vile fabrications about their leaders being used as an excuse for their arrests, and they were sure that, if I could return to London and tell the truth of my people's struggle to the British people, and tell them myself that these stories were untrue, there was yet time for sane councils to prevail and for the traditional friendship between my people and the British to be preserved, while my people moved speedily to self-government and secession from the Federation.

In this pamphlet I want to tell you the story my people sent me to tell, in the confident hope that, with the knowledge of the truth, the British people will not fail us, and will bring pressure on their Government to cease its support for the acts of oppression being committed in my country, which are unworthy of the good name of Britain and its sense of justice.

KANYAMA CHIUME,

Member of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland and Publicity Secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress

Before Federation

A little more than a hundred years ago when Livingstone visited my country, slavery was still at its height. The Portuguese, French and Arab traders still carried out raids and carried away my people into slavery. This did not finish until almost the end of the nineteenth century. Christian missionaries came to the country in the eighteen seventies and by 1880 had assumed a good many judicial powers which they then handed to British Consuls. In 1882 a

Protectorate was declared and called 'British Central Africa'. The administrative costs were met largely from a sum of £10,000 a year paid by Cecil Rhodes on the understanding that large areas of land should be made available to European settlers through one of his companies. In 1899 the present frontiers were adopted and in 1907 it was renamed Nyasaland.

It is important to stress that the British never conquered my people. We came under British 'Protection' as a result of a number of Treaties signed between our Chiefs and the British Government. In all cases these Treaties were signed with Chiefs who could not read and write and who, in many cases did not understand even the language in which the Treaty was written (this is particularly important to remember when it is now said that our 'illiteracy' is one of the reasons that we are not yet deemed capable of deciding what is best for ourselves!)

From 1911 when Nyasaland took on roughly the form which it retained until Federation was imposed on us (1953), Nyasaland was administered by Great Britain through the Colonial Secretary and a Government in Nyasaland responsible to him, and through him to Parliament.

Although no one could describe our progress to self-government as rapid during these 42 years, yet it was true that democratic forms of local and central government were clearly envisaged and the foundations for them laid. In local Government the Native Authorities consisted of the traditional Chiefs with their Council and they steadily undertook an increasing range of responsibilities. Native Authority Treasuries were established and were administered by the Native Authorities who budgeted for revenue, part of which was raised by their decision, and for expenditure on matters of local concern. Native courts administered an increasingly wide range of law. Native Authorities and Councils formed to carry out certain local government functions in urban areas, formed a combined electoral college to send representatives to Provincial Councils and these Provincial Councils in their turn sent representatives chosen by their members from among themselves to the African Protectorate Council. The Protectorate Council nominated a panel from which two, and later three, 'Unofficial Members' of the Legislative Council were nominated by the Governor. The Legislative Council, of course, also consisted of 'Official Members' (Civil Servants) and a more officio members, seven official members and 10 unofficial members (of whom only three were Africans).

At the same time, the language of the administration being English, an increasing number of Africans were becoming bi-lingual and the Nyasas were becoming steadily more and more literate with the establishment of more missionary and a few Government schools so that in 1954 our rate of literacy was reported as being high, for Africa. Nearly half the men and ten per cent. of the women in Nyasaland, according to the Colonial Office Report, were literate in the vernacular.

The following figures show that a large number of children in 1954 were attending primary schools—mainly provided by other than Government sources—but very few of them had the opportunity of higher education.

Numbers of Schools

Type of School	*No. of Government Schools*	*No. of Assisted Schools*
Primary Schools	17	4,671
Secondary Schools	1	12
Vocational Schools	2	11
Teachers' Training Schools	1	10

Numbers of Students at various Schools

Type of School	*Nos. of children attending Schools*	
	Boys	*Girls*
Primary Schools	147,305	90,480
Secondary Schools	488	29
Vocational Schools	543	86
Teacher Training	495	160
Higher Education	11	7

Our views were ignored

In the forty-odd years between our becoming the recognised entity of Nyasaland, and the imposition of Federation, there had been two efforts to amalgamate us with the two Rhodesias.

Two enquiries were carried out, the first in 1929 and the second in 1938 (The Bledisloe Commission). In both cases Royal Commissions of Enquiry reported not only that the Africans of Nyasaland were utterly opposed to the proposed Federation but that they considered the African opposition to be justifiable. When Federation was again proposed after the 1939-45 war, the Africans voiced their opposition just as vociferously, and on the same grounds as before. This time their case was put, among others, by Dr. Banda who had entered the white man's world and more than held his own in it. He had managed to qualify as a Doctor in America and later at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities and had for a good many years been a much respected General Practitioner in London. He had not, however, at any time lost touch with his people in Africa, nor his desire to return and see his people free.

In spite of all the scrupulously constitutional protests, the delegations of Chiefs and Congress leaders to this country both from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and in the face of the clearest possible evidence of the undivided opposition of our peoples to the Federation, the hated Federation was imposed on us. Between 1953 and 1959, there were at least five delegations of one sort or another from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to this country but the warnings of these delegations were ignored. The shock which this brought to my people can hardly be overestimated. Though many of us may have chafed at the slowness of our advance,

and wanted to become masters in our own country, very few of my people doubted the generally good intentions of the British towards us and few believed that a British Government would fail a protected people to such an extent as virtually to hand them over to a small minority of white people dedicated to the preservation of white privilege in Africa. This action destroyed the faith of my people in the 'protection' of the British Crown and brought to them the realisation that only the achievement of self-government could enable them to go forward in peace and dignity.

Why we opposed Federation

To understand our opposition to Federation it must be realised that each of the three countries now in the Federation were very different in character. Southern Rhodesia was a hybrid creation called 'a self-governing colony'. Largely Southern Rhodesia governed herself, almost like a Dominion. The conditions which existed for the Africans in this country were similar to the conditions suffered by Africans in South Africa. All the best land was reserved for white settlers and the 29,000 white people farmed 76,000 square miles of land while 2,000,000 Africans lived (or existed) off 50,000 square miles of far poorer land. (Calculated from Comparative Survey of Native Policy. Cmd. 8235—1951 and Cmd. 8234—1951).

The colour bar was rigorously imposed in public places and in all spheres of life. (Until the recent opening of a multi-racial hotel in Salisbury, any African representative on the Federal Legislature had to travel six miles from the House of Assembly to get a meal, there being no place for him to have a meal in the House of Assembly itself and only 'white' eating places throughout the city.)

Northern Rhodesia was a Protectorate like Nyasaland but had mineral wealth of copper, zinc, cobalt, lead and other minerals which had been exploited by European capital and employed many Africans in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs at one-twentieth of the wages of the white man.

Here too, in Northern Rhodesia, there was much racial discrimination, but not as entrenched as in Southern Rhodesia, and there was still hope of improvement as long as control did not pass into the hands of the local Europeans.

Nyasaland has a long common frontier with Northern Rhodesia cutting arbitrarily through tribal areas but is economically in a very different position. My people were largely agrarian people or fishermen in the great lake. Very little of the land had been alienated from us, though our mineral wealth remained unexploited. The small European and Asian population consisted for the most part of administrators, missionaries and traders, very many of whom did not see their interests threatened by African advancement.

Before Federation the obstacles to our advancement were the lethargy and indifference of the British Government reflected in lack of facilities for higher education and creative drive for development. We knew that once we were federated to the Rhodesias, the greatest

obstacle to our advancement would be the implacable determination of many of the white people in those countries that they would not be parted from their positions of privilege and wealth and their belief that the Africans must be prevented indefinitely from an advance which would enable them to compete on equal terms with the European settler communities.

40/5H/12

Six years of Federation

The overriding advantage of Federation (so the proponents argued) was the economic one. This was not the greatest, or at least not the only, considerable advantage of Federation of which the settler politicians spoke to their own electorates. To the voters who supported Sir Roy Welensky and Lord Malvern (then Sir Godfrey Huggins), the European politicians said that, given the larger unit, the Federation would become so strong that they would be able to throw off the shackles from 'Whitehall' and become an independent nation. Freed even from the weak reins imposed by the British Government, the Federation could do as they pleased and turn the whole combined country into a repetition (if in a different form) of South Africa.

Supporters of Federation in England said that the Federation was to be based on the conception of 'partnership' between the races, and that the entrenched clauses for the protection of African rights should quell all African fears.

In fact, there has been a very slight rise in the cash income of most Nyasas during the six years of Federation, but this has been accompanied by a rise in prices and is not in any case a rise of more than could have been expected had Nyasaland continued on its path alone. After six years of federation, African wages still average less than two shillings per day and the legal minimum is only 1s. 3d. in most places and two shillings in Blantyre/Limbe Township. Poor as we are alleged to have been, our country yet had a budget surplus before Federation and, given an energetic policy of expansion, the proper exploitation of our minerals, the modernisation of our farming and the setting up of co-operatives, we are sure that we could, and still can, given our freedom, provide for our people a steadily rising standard of living. This we cannot achieve while so much of my people's potential skill is untapped. Only under self-government can a people develop to the full.

We are not opposed to all association with other countries. The Nyasaland African Congress is committed to the Accra Declaration that the ultimate objective of pan-Africanism is the creation of a United States of Africa and in this context we would gladly consider association with other neighbouring countries, particularly to our North, **provided** we, the Africans, whose country Nyasaland surely is, are free to choose with whom and when we can do it and can steer clear of amalgamation with countries which have not yet thrown off the yoke of foreign domination.

Economic advancement in the Federation has still tended to benefit the Europeans rather than the Africans and has in any case been grossly exaggerated by the supporters of Federation to combat the unceasing criticism and opposition of the Africans.

Some new public buildings have been built in my country, to give a facade of increased prosperity and benefit to the Africans. However, the European medical superintendent of one such hospital in Blantyre reported to a B.B.C. commentator that though he could get any amount of elaborate equipment for that hospital he could get nowhere with his demands for base hospitals on a smaller, simpler scale in the remote territories away from Zomba and Blantyre. Yet this doctor constantly recommended to the Federal Government the setting up of such smaller units which would have been of infinitely more value to the health of the Africans, scattered as they are hundreds of miles from the town centres which can only be reached by dangerous badly made roads. This is just one indication (and many more could be cited) of the inept administration which inevitably results from alien government. Government from Salisbury based on the intention to **prevent** the advancement of the indigenous population and preserve the reservoir of cheap and docile labour under the cover of 'partnership' can only prove disastrous. Indeed, Nyasaland could do without lavish buildings like the much advertised Group Hospital in Blantyre which practices the colour bar.

Politically, the fears of the Africans had been justified even before the events of the last few weeks. Although minor relaxations of the colour bar had been achieved in the Rhodesias and a partly multiracial University founded in Salisbury no real attempt to bring any real spirit of partnership or co-operation into the venture had been made. Some 400 Africans were allowed to do more skilled work in the copper mines, in Northern Rhodesia, and the industrial wages of Africans increased slightly in comparison with the rates paid to Europeans. But it became quite apparent that the only idea of partnership which appealed to most Europeans was co-operation between Europeans and Africans to continue the present system with only minor amendments and to continue for the foreseeable future, the intolerable exploitation of the majority by the minority. African advancement was all right as long as it went slowly enough. Equality was quite acceptable—provided it was not to be 'within the foreseeable future', or according to Sir Roy Welensky not for a 'hundred or two hundred years'.

With his eyes firmly fixed on 1960 when it had been agreed that the whole structure of Federation would be reviewed, Sir Roy Welensky started talking about 'Dominion Status' for Central Africa. Long before the promised talks were due, the Federal Government brought in constitutional changes in the face of the bitter and unqualified opposition of the African Affairs Board which had been considered by the British Government adequately to safeguard the Africans' interests. While paying lip-service to increasing represen-

tation for the Africans, this legislation in fact even more firmly entrenched the powers of the Europeans. In Southern Rhodesia (where a common roll still manages to prevent African franchise by the imposition of educational and financial standards) the financial standard has twice been raised to prevent an increase in the African vote, and European spokesmen have clearly stated that this will continue to be the practice whenever there is a possibility of the proportion of African voters increasing. Yet this form of franchise, it is still claimed, is 'inevitably' leading 'ultimately' to African majority government.

Dominion Status

Meanwhile in Nyasaland the promised talks to discuss a fresh constitution to give the Africans increased representation in and responsibility for Government were postponed and postponed. More than five years after the imposition of Federation and less than one year before the reconsideration of the structure of Federation, no progress had been made at all. Africans in Nyasaland, seeing in the unfair constitution that is being imposed on the people of Northern Rhodesia a sample of what may be forced on them, shorn of their former trust in the British Government and looking fearfully at the ever-closer spectre of Dominion Status, determined to take up the cudgels in their own defence, and fight with all means in their power (within the context of non-violent action). First of all they were determined to gain such a measure of self-government that, when 1960 came, it would be their leaders, freely elected by adult suffrage, who would speak for them, and secondly that those leaders would demand, without equivocation, that Nyasaland be allowed to secede from the Federation. It did not need politicians to tell our people that they must not come under the control of Southern Rhodesia for many of them had the bitter experience of working in that country and in South Africa.

Dr. Banda returns

To help ensure their success, the Nyasaland African Congress called Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda (then practising in Ghana) to return and lead his people to freedom. And without hesitation, Dr. Banda threw up his medical practice and returned in July 1958, to his people. Though Dr. Banda had not been back to Nyasaland since his boyhood, he had been regarded since his young manhood in South Africa and Rhodesia as the natural leader of the Nyasas because of his continued struggles for his people and for Africa generally. When he returned many people of the older generation who had known him in South Africa paid testimony to his unswerving devotion to their cause. When our delegations came to London to petition the Queen and the British Government not to agree to Federation Dr. Banda (then practising in London) went with them to see the Colonial Secretary and often led and organised their activities.

Both before and since Dr. Banda's return to Nyasaland the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have made repeated and continuous efforts to impress their views on the British Government. Dr. Banda was in London during May 1958, and saw the Colonial Secretary. As recently as eight weeks before this pamphlet was written, I had myself seen the Colonial Secretary and impressed upon him the gravity of the situation in my country and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia had also recently done the same thing. **Our warnings were ignored.**

With the return of Dr. Banda to Nyasaland greeted by enormous demonstrations of enthusiasm from the African people the Congress quickly changed from an ill-organised political machine with some small schisms in its ranks, to a well-organised, well-disciplined political movement unanimous in its aims of self-government and secession. From having about 80 branches it increased in only five months to 200 branches. Eleven district organisers equipped with bicycles to travel our ill-made roads were appointed. A national Secretariat was at work, inundated with new members joining Congress. Had a happier situation existed I should today have been correcting the proofs of our own newspaper 'Kwaca' which after Nyasaland African Congress won all five seats available to Africans on the Legislative Council (out of 25 members) no European or Asian printer would handle.

Our modest office began to get equipped with duplicating and other machinery and, above all, wherever Dr. Banda and our other leaders went, they were greeted with wholehearted support from all our people; often people travelled many miles on foot to hear Dr. Banda speak. Always his audiences amounted to thousands, while the Federal Governor on a tour of the country was boycotted and ignored and even under pressure from the District Commissioners, many Chiefs would not meet him, and no crowd gathered to greet him. Sir Roy Welensky was similarly boycotted in 1957.

Thus did our people give the lie to the constant statement by Sir Roy Welensky and other Federal politicians that opposition to the Federation in Nyasaland came only from a few 'agitators'. Strangely enough it was decided that the 'illiteracy' and 'backwardness' of our people made it impossible to know if they agreed with us or not. This did not deter Rhodes from accepting the 'mark' made by our forebears when they signed treaties selling control of their country for a false promise of protection which was foresworn by the Ministers of the Queen (great, great grand-daughter of the Queen whose Ministers had made the treaties) as soon as they thought they saw security for their investments under a strong settler government.

So we became better and better organised and still the promised move to amend our Constitution did not take place. The dreaded year 1960 loomed nearer and Sir Roy Welensky's demands for Dominion Status became more and more vocal. **No assurance sufficiently clear and strong could be obtained from the British**

Government that we would not be handed over finally to the Rhodesian settlers. But a General Election could not be far off in Britain, and Her Majesty's Opposition had a clearly defined policy for Central Africa which did not include overriding the clearly declared wishes of the Africans. Sir Roy Welensky could not be sure, therefore, that the part he and his followers criticise so often for their 'ill-informed' and 'irresponsible' statements on Africa would not be in power when the fateful talks took place.

Non-violence

In December 1958 Dr. Banda and I went to Accra to represent our people at the Accra Conference. It was a time of great personal happiness for Dr. Banda for he saw there many African politicians who as students in London had visited his London home, among them Prime Minister Nkrumah and Minister of State Botsio. It was also a very heartening experience for both of us, for here we met Africans who had achieved what we were determined to achieve and whose moral support we greatly valued. Dr. Banda returned from Ghana to Nyasaland while I came to London. On his return Dr. Banda and our other leaders told our people many times that we would get self-government and secession, but he equally stressed that our people must be disciplined and organised, and that the methods Congress would use would be strictly non-violent. We openly stated we would use non-violent civil disobedience, but only then because our continuous constitutional efforts had met with no success.

Any African politician would, in fact, be insane to embark on a policy of violence to achieve independence. Our European 'masters' are equipped and trained in the use of modern weapons, whereas we are not trained and cannot, and indeed do not wish to, get access to arms. Even the fact that we outnumber the Europeans approximately 400 to one would not prevent our annihilation, if the full force of British arms were directed against us.

Apart from that, however, neither Dr. Banda, nor Congress generally, are anti-European, let alone anti-British. We know that many British people are very well disposed towards us, and the habit of affection and respect between our nations dies hard, whatever shocks the British Government may give us. Moreover, the personal character and stature of Dr. Banda himself, alone would ensure that a plan of massacre or any such brutality would never be considered by Congress. It has greatly moved me to see and hear this confirmed by many of Dr. Banda's friends in this country while I have been here.

I can categorically state, whatever is said by Sir Robert Armitage or Sir Roy Welensky and whatever alleged 'evidence' they produce, that there was not at any time any plan of massacre made by Congress and that the policy of non-violence which we had openly declared was the intention of my people. The first signs of any violence in Nyasaland came, indeed, from the police and troops who violently attacked the crowds that collected wherever Dr. Banda

went. No violence other than that which had been provoked by the police interference in our legitimate political activities had occurred. Even then, what did this 'violence' amount to? Nothing worse than a few of the exasperated crowd throwing stones.

Bigoted whites

Before the Declaration of a State of Emergency in the early hours of 4th March, there had been nothing more than excited demonstrations. No one had been killed. No one had been seriously injured. There had been no threats of death or injury and no damage to property. That is a fact of the greatest importance when we consider what followed.

Not many days before his arrest, Dr. Banda wrote to several of his closest friends (all Europeans) in London expressing his very deep concern at the rumours of his arrest. He was not concerned for himself, for recent history had taught him that on the road to their liberation he would be very lucky not to see the inside of a gaol, however constitutional or 'moderate' his actions. His concern was that if he was removed the situation would worsen, and chaos follow. His fears were all too well justified.

A sample of things so shortly to come was given by the treatment of a British M.P., Mr. John Stonehouse. Mr. Stonehouse had addressed Africans in Southern Rhodesia to tell them of the friendship of the British Labour Party towards them and their struggle against poverty, and his good wishes for their advancement. He was most vehement in his advice that peaceful methods, accompanied by goodwill and self-control were the weapons that would succeed. Yet it was clear that these mild statements infuriated the bigoted whites in Southern Rhodesia and he was ordered to leave the Federation. Though he was finally allowed to finish his tour of Northern Rhodesia he was not allowed to enter Nyasaland where the State of Emergency was now in force.

No doubt this gave to the people of Britain their first inkling of the amount of power which the British Government had handed to the Federation in 1953. Did they realise in 1953 that a British M.P. would be prevented from visiting a territory alleged to be under the protection of the British Government, by the Federal Prime Minister?

We had warned that this sort of thing would happen, but our warnings had been treated with contempt.

To justify his actions, but palpably without conviction, Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor of Nyasaland, said that he had been forced to arrest the leaders of our Congress and declare the State of Emergency because he had evidence 'which pointed to a plot' to open a campaign of civil disobedience and finally (when the proposed victims were alert and organised for self-defence!) to massacre the Europeans, Asians and 'moderate' Africans. I leave it to my readers to judge whether it was a plan that any sane person could

have thought of twice. Yet Mr. Lennox Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, blew this 'plan' up into proof on which he felt bound to act.

I have already stated that this allegation has no basis in fact whatever. As I write no European has died at the hands of my people, though more than forty of my people have already been sacrificed on the altar of this preposterous lie. I am glad to see that many people in this country also doubt the veracity of the story and the Press generally has treated it with mistrust.

To make our condition worse, European troops from Southern Rhodesia were brought into Nyasaland. These were troops steeped in the belief of African inferiority, brought up in a country where Africans are never to live in dignity if the present rulers have their way. To my people this must have seemed incontrovertible evidence that the British Government had finally deserted them and utterly betrayed their trust. With most of the experienced leadership removed and the provocation given them it would not have been surprising if my people had turned in fury on the Europeans. Such, however, has not been the case.

Southern Rhodesia

Days before the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland, the Southern Rhodesian Government had declared a State of Emergency and had declared all the Congresses of Central Africa illegal within its borders. Some 450 African leaders were arrested together with one of the only Europeans who had dared to put real partnership into practice. This was done although there had been not a single incident of violence or civil disobedience throughout Southern Rhodesia. Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, in a public statement, urged the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to take similar action. Right up until the day of the emergency being declared in Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor, denied the need for it and it was credibly reported that he was yielding to the pressure of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead in declaring it. He was certainly receiving no support from the British Government to deal with the demonstrations in the normal way of political action.

Then, as I have said, Southern Rhodesian troops were poured into Nyasaland and Sir Roy Welensky told the British Government that British troops in readiness in Kenya were 'not required'. At the same time South African planes and troops were offered by the South African Government to the Federal Government.

Sir Roy Welensky denies that he exerted any pressure on the Governor of Nyasaland yet, whatever his intentions it is clear that had Sir Roy intended to carry out a coup d'état, the British Government had allowed a situation to develop where it would have been almost impossible for the British Government to intervene before it became a fait accompli. Had Britain realised how weak her position had become in Central Africa?

In Southern Rhodesia the stringent regulations to suppress the voice of the Africans have shocked the less reactionary of the white population. These same people had looked upon the warnings of Africans and progressive people in Britain as the ravings of agitators and ignoramuses. Now they must take their heads out of the sand and realise that, in the end, there are only two roads.

Two roads

The first is the road of justice which will give to the Africans—and quickly—their rightful share in Government and the economic wealth of their own countries. The second is the long and painful road to a dictatorship which will enslave not only the Africans, but all just and honest men of all races.

Which path will be followed in Central Africa depends in the first instance and for the immediate future, on the British Government. I beg that before Central Africa gets swamped in a morass of charge and counter charge, violence and counter violence the British Government intervenes. And intervenes before the last vestiges of British power in Africa are lost.

I, and my fellow Congressmen, would warmly welcome an impartial legal or parliamentary delegation to investigate the position in Nyasaland. We are anxious to prove that the allegations made against us are untrue. I suggest that:

1 That the state of emergency be brought to an end, troops withdrawn and all those detained without trial released and returned to their homes.

2 An immediate conference be held with the leaders of Nyasaland to discuss the amendment of the Constitution.

3 That self-government on the basis of equal voting rights for all be granted immediately.

4 That as soon as the new Government is elected in Nyasaland on the basis of the new Constitution, the Conference to consider the Federal Constitution to be arranged, it being understood that Nyasaland has the right to secede.

5 That an impartial legal delegation be sent to Nyasaland to investigate the charge that a plot to massacre existed. (It may be noted here that very thorough investigation of such charges will be needed since we have seen in another context how an African leader can be convicted on apparently overwhelming evidence, which after his having served most of his sentence, proves to have been perjured).

For the sake of peace and justice in Africa I appeal for your help in achieving these ends.

London: March 1959

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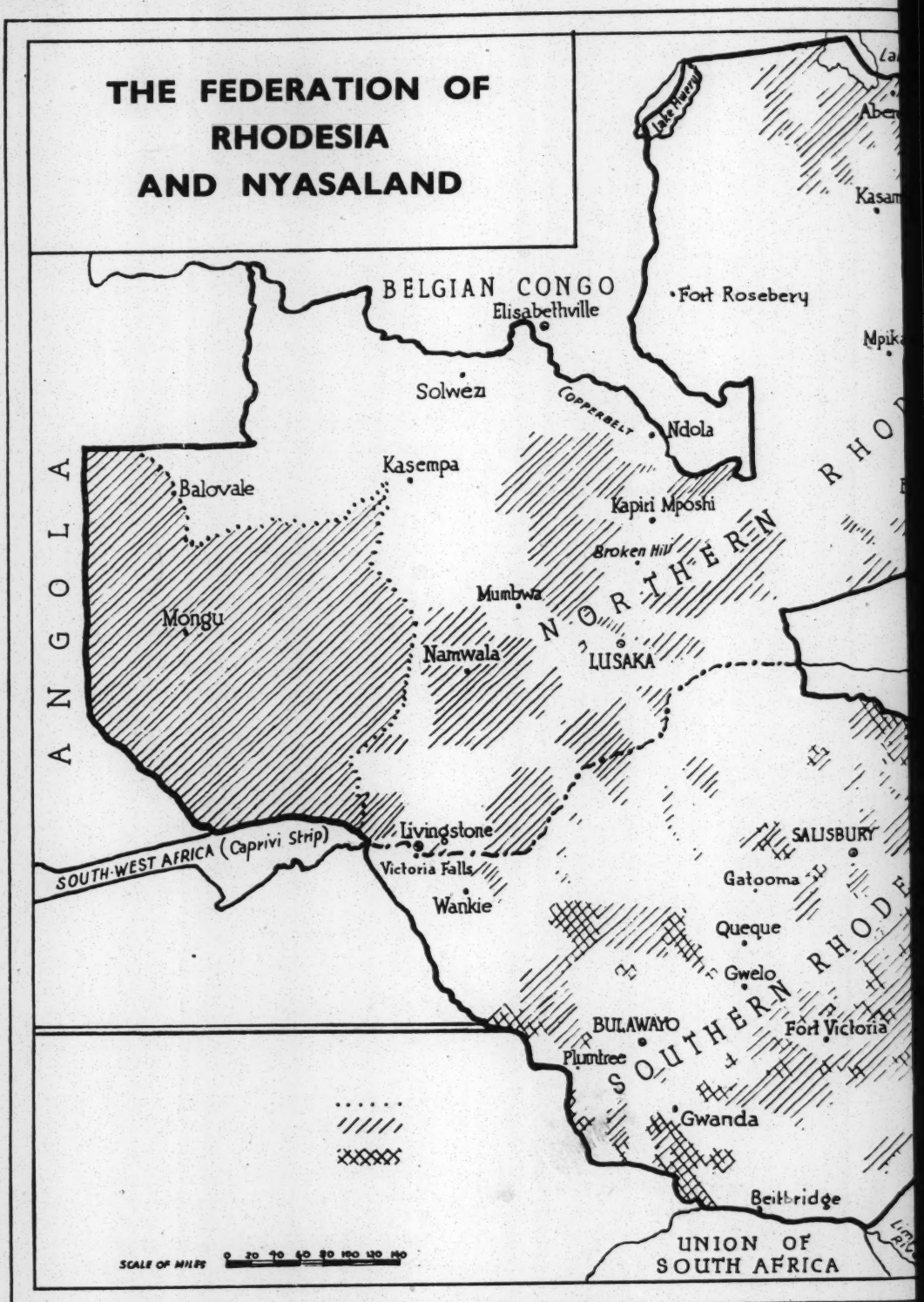
THE FEDERATION OF
RHODESIA
AND NYASALAND
BELGIAN CONGO
Elisabethville
Fort Rosebery
Solwezi
COPPERBELT
Ndola
Kasempa
Balovale
Kapiri Mposhi
Broken Hill
Mumbwa
Mongu
NORTHERN RHODESIA
Namwala
LUSAKA
ANGOLA
Livingstone
SALISBURY
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (Caprivi Strip)
Victoria Falls
Gatooma
Wankie
Queque
Gwelo
BULAWAYO
Fort Victoria
Plumtree
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Gwanda
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UNION OF
SOUTH AFRICA
SCALE OF MILES
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N. Y. Times

AY 4, 1959.

PRIZE PLEASES DUBOIS

U. S. Writer Says Lenin Award Will Pay 'the Grocery Bill'

MOSCOW, May 3 (UPI)—Dr. William E. Dubois, the third American to win a Lenin Peace Prize from the Soviet Union, said today he would use his $25,000 prize money to pay "the grocery bill."

The 91-year--old Negro author, who lives in Brooklyn, said he and his wife had been unable to get their recent writings published in the United States.

"I have never been a member of the Communist party," Dr. Dubois said in an interview here. "But I think Communism is the best system for all countries after this trip." He described himself as a writer, teacher and "peace campaigner."

Dubois said he was "quite overwhelmed" by the award of the Lenin Prize, which Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev also won this year. Howard Fast, an author, who subsequently broke with communism, and Paul Robeson, singer, have been the only other Americans to win it.

$25,000 'FOR GROCERIES'

Natl Guardian 5/11/59

Dr. DuBois gets Lenin Peace Prize

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, distinguished historian and frequent contributor to the GUARDIAN, is one of three recipients of the 1959 Lenin Peace Prize, it was announced in Moscow last week. The others were Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Ivor Montagu, British writer. Dr. DuBois, who is 91, reached Moscow from Peking in time for the May Day celebration. He said he would use his $25,000 prize money to "pay the grocery bill."

In an interview he said he had never been a member of the Communist Party, "but I think communism is the best system for all countries after this trip." He and his wife, author Shirley Graham DuBois, have been traveling since August through Europe, Asia and Africa.

Dr. DuBois said he was "quite overwhelmed" at receiving the prize which, as the Stalin Prize, has been given twice before to Americans: Paul Robeson and Howard Fast.

The second novel of a trilogy Dr. DuBois has completed, **The Black Flame**, will be published by New Century next month. It is called **Mansart Builds A School.**

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ROSEBORO HOMER PUTS BUM

RED★ STAR Washington Afro-America

68th Year, No. 19

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WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 29, 1959

'A Gun For

Mixed Pair Accused Of An

RECEPTION GUESTS—Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois, who returned last week from Russia, are shown at Washington reception for Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev held at the USSR Embassy, last Thursday. Also shown are the Premier (right) and Russian Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov.

Dr. DuBois home, pleads for peace

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

The speech of Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev before the United Nations General Assembly is one of modern times and one of tremendous significance, Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, 91-year-old scholar and admirer of the Russian system, declared.

Dr. DuBois and his wife were here to attend a reception given by Russian Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Khrushchev.

In his UN address on Sept. 18, Mr. Khrushchev proposed a sweeping program of disarmament carried out over four years with the abolition of all armies, navies, air forces and nuclear arsenals.

Dr. DuBois said he was only afraid that most people would not read the Khrushchev speech.

* * *

THE PEACE THAT Mr. Khrushchev talked about, he said, "is not simply something for his benefit or the benefit of the Soviet Union. It is for the benefit of the world and the United States. Unless we avoid the war that is actually threatening, our whole civiliation is in danger."

Dr. DuBois said everybody

See DuBOIS HOME, Page 2

Want A Test-Tube Baby?

The practice of artificial insemination is not new. It has been used for almost 40 years. Know the details. — Magazine section.

Labor's Dog Fight

A. Philip Randolph, who has been trying for 25 years to get labor to rid itself of racial discrimination, undoubtedly has decided upon an all-out fight,—Editorial page.

Day's Work

Some people save up two or three weeks' cleaning then hire a day

Tearful m on charge

A young mother with tear-swollen eyes was returned to jail Saturday in lieu of $50 bond after she waived a pre liminary hearing on a charg of abandoning her three-yea old twins.

Mrs. Juanita C. Jones, 2 1400 block Swann St., NW, w held for the grand jury on indictable misdemeanor cha by Municipal Court Judge ton S. Kronheim Jr.

The mother of four chi chose not to discuss the c against her in court. She the right to a hearing t her attorney, Melvin M ton Jr.

* * *

"THIS COURT cann the facts and deci case," Mr. Burton

-Lash Meany

(Continued from Page 1)

ionist and to the entire colored group. Randolph most assuredly does speak for all colored trade unionists.

"Meany should immediately apologize to trade union movement and the colored people or resign. He has lost his usefulness and has publicly declared himself as a ...er of colored Americans."

* * *

...ANY'S attack also drew ...m the Afro - American ... Association in Chi... ...an "open letter to ...ress," the associ... ...d:

... the day Lin... ...Emancipation ... attacked ...lph publi... against ...d you ...y on

OFFICIAL PRIZE COUPON

20th Annual

AFRO COOKING SCHOOL

and Home Service Show

OCTOBER 9 & 10, 1959 ULINE ARENA

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Address .....

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IMPORTANT — PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

A. This coupon MUST be filled out completely. PRINT . . . DO NOT WRITE.

B. All prize drawings will be made from the stage by an impartial party.

C. You may deposit as many slips as you wish at each show but . . . You may not win more tha one prize at any session (grand prizes excepted).

D. Neither the Afro-American nor the exhibitors intend to imply any guarantee that your entry will win any prize.

E. You must be present to win.

F. Failure to answer to your name after the third call over the public address system negates your coupon.

G. Employees of the Afro-American Company and their families are ineligible.

H. In all cases the decision of the master of ceremonies is final and not subject to appeal.

For evening shows All coupons must Be deposited by 8:30 p. m.

For Matinees All coupons must be deposited by 2 p. m.

-Dr. DuBois home

(Continued from Page 1)

...ants peace "if they have ...y conception of what was ...day may be."

Asked whether he thought Mr. Khrushchev's proposal is ...workable, Dr. DuBois replied: "Of course, it is workable. Nobody has to fight."

Asked whether he favored ...existence with the Russians, Dr. DuBois asked: "What else could you favor?" He told the reporter that he spoke as though "co - existence was for the benefit of the other fellow. That is the way Americans look at it."

* * *

DR. AND MRS. DUBOIS recently returned from an 11-month trip abroad which took them to England, Holland, France, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Asked about his impressions of Russian people, he said they are "The same kind of human beings you meet everythere in the world — a little less sophisticated than the ordinary American wants to be, a good deal more hopeful, less cynical, and enjoying simple things, like walking around looking at the parks, going to the picture galleries, not sitting up as late at night, comparatively little night life, no employment, all children in school."

Housing in the Soviet Union, he said, is "not as good as the best housing in the United States, but improving rapidly."

Working conditions are quite satisfactory. "The assumption of Americans," he added, "that everybody in Russia is ready for revolt is nonsense."

Dr. DuBois said there is no question of a high school student getting employment. Boys and girls must attend school, he explained, and are paid by the Government to do so.

* * *

THERE IS A question of what boys and girls will do after they come out of school he said. When they come out of high school, he continued, they all work in factories for a short time until their abilities are judged. Then, they go into technical work or a profession.

"In every case," he said, "they are educated by the state and they are going to do what the state wants them to do."

As an example, he cited the fact that 60 per cent of the women. He said there are more physicians per population in Russia than there are in the United States.

* * *

THERE ARE something like 200 different dialects in Russia, Dr. DuBois said. The Russians have made it one of their chief cares to see that differences among these people do not grow but that they have equal advantages. There is no race problem, as such, in the Soviet Union, he said. "When it comes to outside races, there is no thought of it. Never in my life have I been treated with the courtesy I have had in the last seven months."

From Hollywood, Associated Negro Press Reporter Harry Levette, wrote the following about Khrushchev's visit.

Although the curiosity to see Premier Nikita Khrushchev, was as great among local colored citizens as among caucasians, there were few to greet him at the airport.

His appearance was always met with limited applause, but no hooting or jeering.

At Twentieth Century Fox Studio, the party was hurried through the gates and to the Cafe De Paris, in the center of the administration section of the 350-acre lot.

There among the more than 300 famous movie stars, Mr. K. noticed Nat "King" Cole, and was seen to whisper something to his interpreter who was seated next to him.

Cole was on the Can Can set on stage "8" where a scene was to be shot for Mr. "K" and Mrs. "K". Couple of reporters asked him:

"Well what do you think of him, Nat?"

Nat merely smiled, signed autographs for them and stated: "I think like most everyone else. He is a strong brilliant man, and his plans merit study."

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Birthday Party in Peking

A gala Chinese-style party to celebrate the 91st birthday of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the famous American scholar and Negro leader now visiting China with his wife, the writer Shirley Graham, was held at Peking Hotel on February 23. Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other Chinese prominent in many fields of work and Americans in Peking were guests. Scrolls with traditional symbols of longevity decorated the walls. A birthday cake and a bowl of "long life" peaches from Premier Chou En-lai, and candles, flowers and miniature cypress trees stood on the ceremonial table.

Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, which, with the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, was co-host at the festivities, congratulated Dr. Du Bois on behalf of the millions who have the deepest love and respect for him. "We see in Dr. Du Bois a worthy representative of the American people with whom we hope very much to maintain peaceful and friendly intercourse," he said.

Describing present-day U.S. imperialism as Enemy Number One of the peace-loving peoples of the world, Kuo Mo-jo paid tribute to the struggle which Dr. Du Bois has waged untiringly for his ideals in a political atmosphere heavy with deceit and tyranny. He greeted Dr. Du Bois' efforts as "a brilliant demonstration of the American people's love for peace and justice.... Countless American and African working people, groaning under the yoke of monopoly capital and racial prejudice, look upon Dr. Du Bois as the standard bearer of their struggle." Kuo Mo-jo wished the famous Negro leader long life, saying: "Spring has come for mankind. Supported by your continued efforts, future developments will further encourage and strengthen the confidence of the peoples of the United States, Africa and the whole world in a glorious and happy tomorrow."

Well-known Chinese singers and dancers provided entertainment for the party. Outstanding were two Negro folk songs sung in Chinese. Many veteran Chinese scholars, artists and men of letters presented gifts, paintings and poems to Dr. Du Bois. He received a copy of the Chinese translation of his own work, *Battle for Peace*, and birthday greetings from personal friends in China, the United States, the Soviet Union and many other lands.

Renmin Ribao marked Dr. Du Bois' birthday with an article in its literary columns by the noted Chinese novelist Mao Tun and a couplet by Kuo Mo-jo greeting Dr. Du Bois' great contributions to the cause of peace and freedom.

I notice that I[s] cult. This is [an] ould be considered an insult o the Muslim world. The term should be eliminated by all newspapers.

Islam is not a cult. It is a religion given to the whole of humanity by Allah, the ruler and sustainer of all of the world.

Every true Muslim bows down and prostrate himself before his maker, who is Allah.

HAJJ I. SAMMSAN

APPLAUDS EDITORIALS

New York — The editorial in the August 8 issue entitled, "Captive Nations Week" is a splendid and cogent one — one of the best I've seen written on the question.

I was impressed, too, with many of the arguments in the one on the editorial page entitled, "Mr. Nixon and Mr. K."

Also, the editorial, "Reminder for Secretary Wilkins" was short, sweet and to the point.

The AFRO continues happily to pursue an editorial policy of thoughtful, rewarding inde-pendence. And by the way, t me not fail to commend J. nders Redding's book re-ws, his current one on Ap-er's "Colonial Era" being ical example of their re-ng character.

BEN DAVIS

AND ISRAEL

n — I have seen more minded thinking in re- to the State of Israel AFRO lately, which is erful news.

ael, as you know, has e many friends in Asia Africa. She has excellent tions with Ghana.

realize that the AFRO is porting an end to colonial-in Africa and may shy ay from discussing Israeli atters for it may be tempted o listen to President Nasser's dreams of "liberating" these colonies and thus enlarging his prestige and power.

May this letter encourage this discussion of Israeli subjects, both past (in relation of Biblical topics) and present.

BARRY L. NIDITCH

A CLASSIC EDITORIAL

Stony Creek, Va. — Again I must commend the AFRO for the editorial of Sept. 12 on Abraham Lincoln. It belongs to the classics.

If we had Abraham Lincoln in the White Hoouse today, the NAACP and other organizations would not have to spend millions of dollars to implement the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation.

Mr. Lincoln let the world know just where he stood on civil rights when on Nov. 19, 1863, he delivered the celebrated Gettysburg address.

Mr. Eisenhower played into the hand of the Dixiecrats when he put three of them on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. He knew that these three could block anything that the three northern commissioners would try to put into effect.

G. A. MILLE[R]

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

Men succeed in business be-se they have the nerve to try the nerve to stick until s comes.

John H. Murphy Sr.
August 7, 1916

uotation

monds, precious but leaves, found every-

h, Baltimore, Md.)

hop. The [cor]poration was unable to [ob]tain enough money to operate the Raney High School. The District Court ruled that the Arkansas pupil placement law was "constitutional on its face."

The school board decided to reopen the schools on Aug. 12 with token desegregation. The decision was designed to head off possible interference with the board's plan by Faubus and the Arkansas Legislature.

Dr. Jackson sent his telegram of "regret" to Mr. Wilkins on Aug. 10.

* * *

THE SCHOOL board relied on the Arkansas pupil placement law to dispose of applications from 60 colored students seeking transfer to white schools. It assigned six colored students to such schools — three to Central, where there had been nine in 1957-58, and three to Hall — and the 54 other colored students were assigned to the all-colored Horace Mann High School.

Brooks Hays is a moderate. In the fall of 1957 he attempted to act as mediator between President Eisenhower and Faubus, but negotiations broke down when Faubus would not give Mr. Eisenhower the assurance that he intended to use his full powers as Governor to prevent the obstruction of Federal court orders.

Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine colored children from attending Central High.

President Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard, taking them out of Faubus' hands, and sent battle-trained paratroopers to Little Rock to break up the mob that was preventing the colored childen from attending Central.

* * *

MR. HAYS, a layman, was elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1957.

Shortly aterwards, Mr. Hays saw this reporter in a Capitol corridor one day and asked whether the late Rev. William H. Jernagin was president of the colored Baptists.

I told him that Dr. Jackson was. He said he wanted to meet him. Later, a Baptist meeting was held at a colored Baptist church here. Dr. Jackson was in attendance. Mr. Hays also went to that meeting. They were introduced. Both spoke from the same platform.

Not only did a friendship develop between the two heads of Baptist Conventions, but Mr. Hays became a donor of $50 to a National Baptist Convention ministers' retirement fund —a Jackson project.

Now the tip comes from a good source that the friendship between these two men accounts for the telegram of "regret" Dr. Jackson sent to Mr. Wilkins. Putting two and [two] together [...]

* * *

DR. AND MRS. William B. DuBois were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. George B. Murphy Jr., while they were here to attend the reception for Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Russian Embassy Thursday evening.

One of the finest and most modern post offices is about ready for dedication at Tuskegee Institute. Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield plans to make the dedication a big affair.

For the first time in history people will know that there is a United States post office at Tuskegee Institute. The new office is built on the campus of the school Booker T. Washington founded.

In the past it was thought that the post office was maintained by the school because it was located in the administration building.

* * *

THE POST OFFICE Department has spent about $65,000 for the building, which is ready for dedication.

Incidentally, a colored man,

[...] them from Red Russians, but she assured everyone within range of her voice that White Russians were wonderful. Later, I heard the same man telling someone that he was a Hungarian.

So far as I am concerned, President Eisenhower has called the shot on Mr. K.'s visit. If the President believes it will accomplish something worthwhile, I am willing to help fill out the crowds and join in the "polite but restrained reception."

All that I ask is that the State Department, members of Congress, mayors and other public figures will not get peeved or regard me as showing bad taste if I am "polite but cool" to the visiting head of— let us say South Africa.

Also, if some truly humanitarian mayor raises a question about the job discrimination, bus segregation and the general South African effort to promote White Supremacy, I hope nobody will accuse him of showing bad taste.

[...]ltur-
[...]its
[...]e-

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

September Crowds In Paris

PARIS — The September hotel shortage didn't stop people from coming to town as usual.

Those who had no rooms reserved managed to squeeze in somewhere— even though they had to move every day for a couple of days. Moving from one hotel to another was a nuisance, but it was better than sitting up in a chair all night.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Turner of Chicago were among the fortunate ones who had a place to stay, because they made a reservation in advance. Turner is director of physical education at Roosevelt University, Chciago, and his wife is circulation librarian at the same school.

THEY SPENT five weeks seeing Europe. It was the first time for Mrs. Turner, but her husband was in the ETO during the war and had visited Paris many times before. They touched London, Germany, Belgium, France and Switzerland— and liked Switzerland best of all.

Sydney Francis, Brooklyn, N.Y., left Paris near the end of September, but will be back in Europe (Norway, to be exact) within a few weeks. He's a chemical engineer, and will spend the coming year in Norway. His summer vacation lasted more than two months and took him from Scotland to the French Riviera.

Mrs. William R. Montague, also Brooklyn, left around the middle of September, after spending a week with her daughter, Juliet, who is living for the time being in Copenhagen, Denmark. Mrs. Montague's husband is the author of "Old Man Mose," published several years ago.

Mercer Cook Sr. and family (Vashti and Jackie) will remain in Paris for a second year— which is good news to many people, French and American. And the family will have an addition this year, with the arrival of Vashti's mother the first week in October.

* * *

GEORGE BOLLES, Ph. D. of Passaic, N.J., a consultant psychologist, who has been here for one year studying and observing, is to remain in Paris for another year. He has been visiting clinics in Switzerland as well as France.

The hotel shortage— or rather the shortage of rooms, which was mentioned earlier— is something that few persons can seem to understand at this time of the year.

Tourists who would not think of coming to Paris in July or August without a room reserved blithely blow in during September with the idea that there will be plenty of vacancies.

It's not so— and hasn't been for many years. September is one of the most crowded months in Paris, and October isn't much better. One reason is that all the French people have come back to the city from vacation.

4/11/16/75a

Dr. DuBois, wife to speak here

[1959]

42/IF/4

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, perhaps the most distinguished scholar produced by the American Negro, will speak in Los Angeles on his recent trip to Soviet Russia and Communist China Friday, Nov. 13, at First Unitarian church on the program of the Unitarian Public Forum.

Joining Dr. DuBois, who was one of original founders of the NAACP, will be his wife, Shirley Graham, the novelist, who accompanied him on his trip to Russia and China.

Miss Graham also made a side trip on the couple's trip abroad which ill health denied the 94-year-old scholar.

She attended the All African People's Conference in Ghana last Spring, and will include in her talk, comments on the African freedom movement.

This was Dr. DuBois' fourth visit to the Soviet Union. He is a long-time advocate of socialism.

For almost 10 years, Dr. DuBois, a Harvard graduate and former professor at Atlanta university, was denied a passport to travel abroad because the State Department feared that his criticism of U. S. capitalism, its support of imperialism, and its racism would give aid and comfort to its critics, chiefly Soviet Russia. Last Spring, a passport was issued him at the same time that one was issued to Paul Robeson, internationally famous singer who holds substantially the same views, allowing both to travel abroad.

A spokesman for the Forum said that an overflow audience is expected and urged that tickets be secured early.

Admission is $1.00 and can be obtained by mail from the office of First Unitarian church, 2936 W. 8th st., Los Angeles 5, if the order is accompanied by a check or money order.

Tribune, Los Angeles, Oct. 30, 1959

...the Soviet pro-
...g a peace settlement
...found no favourable
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...years they have put
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recognition of the present existence of the two German Sates and on the limitation of West Germany's war potential.

Paratroops on way to the Congo

A BATTALION of Belgian paratroops is on its way from Brussels to the Belgian Congo where 42 Africans were killed last week and 250 people injured.

The Government in Brussels met yesterday to put the finishing touches to the long-awaited policy declaration on the political future of the Belgian Congo, which is to be made in Parliament tomorrow.

The Congolese demand for a say in their own future was one of the causes of last week's clashes.

STILL TENSE

The situation in Leopoldville, the Congo capital, was yesterday still described as tense.

Nine African mayors of parts of the city have threatened to cease all co-operation with the Belgian authorities unless their fellow-burgomaster, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, who was arrested last week, is released.

Premier's tour

The Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan leave London tonight to begin a three-day tour of North-East England. The first place on the programme is Darlington, where they arrive early tomorrow morning.

"World trade means peace. If businessmen trade, the politicians will have to follow them," the Soviet First Deputy Premier told the 800 guests at the dinner given in his honour on Saturday by the World Trade Association.

On arrival at his hotel in San Francisco he had been greeted by a crowd which clapped and shouted greetings. But emigre demonstrators were out earlier on his arrival at the airport. They tried to storm his car and to drag his son from another.

"If such demonstrations are considered an inevitable part of American life, this will not make this way of lie more attractive to others," Mr. Mikoyan later told 600 members of the San Francisco Press Club. Cheers greeted his remark

WHICH FREEDOM ?

"We stand for freedom—not freedom for hoodlums, but freedom from hoodlums."

Harrison Salisbury, covering the Mikoyan tour of America for the New York Times, said in yesterday's paper that the Soviet Minister was making a "decided impact" on many leading Americans—despite the State Department in Washington.

"The impression given to Mr. Mikoyan is that there is a deep split between official Washington on the one hand, with its narrow definition of protocol and deep-freeze approach, and the attitude of powerful business interests of the country," he wrote.

"The seeming discourtesy of the State Department, the constant harassment by Hungarian pickets and the erratic arrangements of the local police, who in Chicago spent more time fighting newsmen than holding back demonstrators, have produced a barrage of negative publicity for the U.S. in Europe."

California's Governor, Mr. Edmund Brown, yesterday apologised to Mr. Mikoyan for the mob scenes which occurred at the San Francisco airport when he arrived on Saturday.

THEY WILL LOBBY ...OR 40-HOUR WEEK

...resented

...action to keep
...says that,
...mes, Mr.
...heme is
...gres-

respondence the example he unfailingly offered of a whole man's manner of speech begins to shake Jefferson's inward being—the latter is pressed on to utterances of fears and regrets that are, at the very close, as moving as those of his master.

But the triumph does belong, beyond all question, to the figure history calls the lesser of the two. Jealous, bitter, brilliant, learned, active; a man with a capacity for grief, a man of Johnsonian impulse eager to move on from grief to a statement of its uses, and then on still farther to mockery of its abuses; a man passionately uncertain in his religion, wholly aware of his wishfulness, contemptuous of it but too desperate in the attachments of his life to abandon it; a relisher of experience, a man totally open, rich in invective but touched with a noble gentleness of feeling, a self-dramatizer, an endlessly fertile wit; a man beyond positions, as it were, one who could not believe that an Opinion of his, however forcefully delivered, could be taken to represent him, because always (as he knew) life is deeper than any system he can devise for its expression; a leader doomed to be misunderstood, misrepresented, humiliated. . . . How he would wink and cry Lord! Lord! at such a soppy Ciceronian barrage! He would understand and value, though, praise of the kind implicit in Lawrence's famous words: the only riches, the great souls—and in point of truth no other praise is relevant. Let it be given him boldly, and let it be said, too, that in returning this soul to public view, scholarship, which may or may not know where to place it in the splendid historical edifice of unreality, has nevertheless served the ideal of American Character in an exemplary and exhilarating way.

Africa's Destroyed Civilization

THE LOST CITIES OF AFRICA. By Basil Davidson. Little, Brown & Co. 366 pp. $6.50.

Kenneth Rexroth

THIS is one of the season's more unfortunately named books. The title has that certain Rider Haggard, White Goddess of the Theosophical Cannibals ring to it that put me off and I opened it with a definite shiver of repugnant expectation. But in fact it is both a sound historical and archaeological work and very exciting reading. Don't let the title put you off.

When I was a boy I read W. E. B. DuBois and marveled over the vanished glories of African civilization with tears in my eyes. As an adolescent, possibly because I was an adolescent, I was one of the very few radical intellectuals, black or white, who sympathized with Marcus Garvey. Time went by and I accepted the verdict of my betters that DuBois had drawn a very long bow indeed, that he had romanticized the African past that had actually existed, and had invented whenever he didn't have enough information to romanticize. For a long time the memory of Garvey's debacle made the very word "Africa" almost a joke amongst Negroes, liberals, radicals and just plain Negrophiles. Everybody concentrated on the task at hand—the struggle for the rights of American Negroes. Then came Herskovitz and others like him, and all the immense literature of jazz and the questions of its African origins, and the widespread appreciation of Negro art amongst educated Negroes; the tide began to turn. But somehow it never turned far enough so that a lingering doubt didn't remain. Was the heritage of the African past as splendid as DuBois so long ago had portrayed it? Here now is the answer. The old man is vindicated—in abundant measure: in the words of an erstwhile political leader he has been "surpassed and overtaken."

The Lost Cities of Africa is the only book I know of which is a systematic, scientific and thoroughly up-to-date presentation of the history, prehistory, archaeology and prehistoric anthropology or human palaeontology of all of Africa, except for the Moorish-Arab Northwest corner. All the major centers of civilization are treated in considerable detail: Upper Egypt, Libya, the Kushites, Meroë; the Sudan, the great caravan empires and the cities of the Niger; Benin, Yoruba, the Kingdoms of the Gold and Ivory Coasts and the Congo; Zanzibar, the East Coast trading cities with their contacts with India and China; Ethiopia and Axum, the Christian empires of the highlands; Mapungubwe, Zimbabwe, whose mysterious ruins were the source of Rider Haggard's romances. The picture which emerges is of a complex of pre-literate civilizations only just beneath those of Mexico and Peru, and still growing vigorously when they were stricken by European and later Arab looting, conquest and slave hunting.

SINCE most of the material is archaeological and not literary, a history of Africa must perforce be a social and economic history rather than a political one. What we find is the story of a barbaric society with a high level of technical accomplishment, imposing art, widespread trade, and probably a greater security of life and a more widely diffused decent standard of living than could have been found in much of contemporary medieval Europe. Basil Davidson seldom misses the chance to point out the essential Negro-ness of all this. But that does not make him a partisan or special pleader. So many lies have been told on the other side that it is necessary to state the facts, clearly and forcibly. It isn't just that no Pharaoh of Egypt until the Greek Ptolemies could have been served in a Mississippi beanery—we are all aware of the dodge behind that blanket term "Hamitic"; it is that from the Sudan to

KENNETH REXROTH, poet and critic, is the author of Bird in the Bush, *recently published by New Directions.*

The Storm Swallow

(From the Norwegian of Henrik Ibsen)

The storm-swallow nests where the land fails.
I heard it myself from an ancient sailor.

She moistens her wings in the distant foam;
She dives through swells, and she never sinks.

She dives with the sea; she climbs with the sea;
She keeps silence in calm; she cries against storm.

It is a journey between flying and swimming,
As dreaming is between heaven and chaos.

Too heavy for air, too light for waves —
Ah, swallow, swallow — there we have an image!

Yes, and what's worse — in teachers' eyes
It's all set down as sailors' lies.

ROBERT BLY

splní-li vysoké školy tento požadavek, vážně zaostanou za potřebami socialistické výstavby a socialistické společnosti.

Rozhodujícím úkolem na vysokých školách je tedy již v současné době přiblížit soustavu vysokoškolského vzdělání k výrobě a životu lidu.

Nejdříve je možno realizovat tuto směrnici **v přijímacím řízení na vysoké školy.** Usnesení XI. sjezdu ukládá zlepšit způsob přijímání posluchačů na vysoké školy přednostním výběrem z řad mládeže, která již získala výrobní praxi a tím bohatší životní zkušenosti. Domníváme se, že na tomto úseku je možné ještě v tomto a v příštím školním roce udělat řadu konkrétních opatření.

Dosavadní stav ukazuje, že rozhodující většina posluchačů vysokých škol je přijímána z řad absolventů jedenáctiletek. Přímo po maturitě na jedenáctiletce bylo přijato v roce 1957 74,4 % studentů. Z odborných škol to bylo 16,3 % a ze škol pro pracující 0,7 %. Z odborné praxe, tj. jeden nebo několik let po maturitě, bylo přijato na vysoké školy všech směrů pouze 8,6 % posluchačů. Přitom je ještě třeba toto číslo podrobněji analyzovat. Na fakultě všeobecného lékařství se ukázalo, že velká část těch, kteří jsou přijímáni z praxe, byli ti, kteří před rokem nebo dvěma lety nebyli na školu z různých důvodů přijati a opět o přijetí usilují. U menší části z těchto přijatých jde o skutečně hluboký zájem o obor a tedy o životní korekci buď nedostatečné přípravy, anebo ne dosti správně provedeného přijímacího řízení. U větší části jde však mnohem spíše o otázku prestižní, jak se také ukazuje z dalších výsledků studia. Podobný stav bude pravděpodobně i na ostatních vysokých školách.

Je proto příliv nových posluchačů z výrobní praxe, kteří by chtěli z vlastní iniciativy a hlubokého zájmu o obor vstoupit na vysoké školy, prakticky minimální. Přitom máme velmi dobré zkušenosti s absolventy bývalých dělnických přípravek, kteří byli přímo z výroby přijati po jednoročním přípravném kursu na vysoké školy. Je třeba konstatovat, že rozhodující většina těchto posluchačů se na vysokých školách osvědčila. Byli to právě tito posluchači, kteří tvořili jádro svazáckých a stranických studentských organizací na vysokých školách po odchodu starších studentů, kteří začali studovat již před uzavřením vysokých škol okupanty v roce 1939 a dokončovali svá studia po těžkých životních zkušenostech okupace, po revoluci v roce 1945. Absolventi jednoročních přípravných kursů se osvědčili jak po stránce ideologické, politické, tak i úrovní svých vědomostí, o čemž svědčí jejich studijní prospěch i jejich velmi dobré uplatnění v našem národním hospodářství. Máme tedy na vysokých školách konkrétní důkaz správnosti názorů, že na vysoké školy mohou a mají přicházet studenti po určité době výrobní nebo jiné praxe.

Proti směrnici přijímat na vysoké školy posluchače s praxí, uvádějí někteří pedagogové námitku, že odchodem do výroby po maturitě vzniká přerušení, které prý vážně narušuje studium na vysoké škole zejména v prvých obtížných ročnících. Je nepochybné, že k určité ztrátě pedagogických návyků, schopnosti studia i konkrétních vědomostí dojde po odchodu do praxe u všech, ale především u těch, kteří nemají hluboký zájem o studium svého oboru, kteří do praxe odejdou bez další touhy dál se vzdělávat. Domníváme se, že tento určitý nedostatek je možno plně odstranit. Po přechodnou dobu bylo by možné přijímat studenty na vysokou školu předběžně, po přijetí je posílat do praxe a udržovat s nimi stálé spojení v podobě dálkové nebo večerní přípravy k definitivnímu přijetí na vysokou školu. Tak by mohlo být dosaženo jak výchovného působení práce, získání životních zkušeností i pracovních návyků, tak i lepší teoretické i praktické přípravy ke studiu. Zvýšení odborné i politické úrovně a duševní zralosti takto přijímaných posluchačů dovolí nepochybně již v blízké budoucnosti podstatné osvojení a rozšíření teoretických i praktických vědomostí, jak je přináší bouřlivý rozvoj vědy a techniky. Dojde tedy dokonce k podstatnému zkvalitnění úrovně těch, kteří budou s definitivní platností na vysokou školu přijati a vysoká škola v mnohem větší míře než dosud bude moci respektovat a rozvíjet zásadu důsledného spojování studia s výrobou.

Pro tento postup přechodného přijímání žáků na vysoké školy hovoří i nemožnost zastavit okamžité přijímání na vysokou školu u těch, kteří by výrobní praxi neměli. Při rychlé realizaci tohoto opatření bude po

Ve Stalingradě

FRANTIŠEK BRANISLAV

Vzdaluje se čas, míjí čas,
čin změřil lidský osud —
a bitvy hoří ještě v nás,
vítězství trvá dosud
v nesmazatelné paměti.

Vichřice zmlkly, liják střel,
víš nejtišími slovy:
z hrdinů nikdo nezemřel,
kde nad den ocelový
vychází slunce pro děti.

Ty město z nejslavnějších měst,
když na hrob věnec kladem
tvým mrtvým, vzdáváme jim čest,
ty víš, že Stalingradem
rozžehli maják století.

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

PSÁNO POD ČAROU

W. E. B.

Nevěřím, že věrnost ke Spojeným státům v sobě obsahuje nenávist k jiným národům a také nebudu slibovat, že budu podporovat svou zem, ať má pravdu nebo ne. Budu tento stát hájit, bude-li mít pravdu. Budu jej odsuzovat, bude-li v neprávu. Kdybych byl na příklad žil v Georgii, kde jsem žil čtvrt století po občanském zrovnoprávnění, a kdybych podle zákona byl nucen buď bojovat pro zachování otroctví nebo zemřít, byl bych zemřel.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, občan USA

Radostně — není poněkud slabé tohle slovíčko? — ano, radostně jsme ho v těchto dnech uvítali v naší Praze. A komu by se chtělo věřit, že tento usměvavý muž, který tak svěže vystoupil z letadla, má za sebou devadesátku!

Doktor W. E. Burghardt Du Bois je mezi námi. Hrdinný černošský spisovatel, sociolog, historik, vědec světového významu, učitel. Kdosi o něm napsal jako o »jednom z největších obránců míru a chudých této doby a všech časů.« Jinde je zase Du Bois stavěn do jedné řady s Benjaminem Franklinem, Thomasem Jeffersonem a Markem Twainem.

O jeho obrovitém díle a neochvějném boji za politická, občanská a sociální práva černochů, za skutečnou demokracii a pokrok, za svatou věc míru, s láskou i úctou hovořili Albert Einstein i Joliot Curie, Langston Hughes, Arnold Zweig i Dmitrij Šostakovič, Thomas Mann, Tichonov i Kuo Mo-žo.

A milióny barevných!

A milióny čestných lidí ve všech kontinentech!

Jeho jméno je ozdobou i pýchou té Ameriky, která se nehodlá vzdát cti, lidskosti a kultury.

.. a já jsem černý
a černí jsou rudí od té krve,
kterou bílí prolili.

Tak zpívá W. E. B. Du Bois v jedné ze svých básní, v níž bouří proti lynchování a válce. Jeho hlas — toť bolest, hněv, vzpoura, mobilizace. Hlas zástupů, na jejichž záda prší rány otrokářů. Hlas, který velí: Spojit srdce i ruce! Zlomit okovy! Válku válce!

Umírají-li zbabělci, ať žijí stateční . . .

Tak volá W. E. B.

Tři písmena, která tak dobře zná Haarlem i americký Jih. Píší-li o Du Boisovi lidé, kteří ho milují, používají jen těchto tři písmen.

Ta písmena jsou synonymem chrabrosti, humanismu a nezlomné víry, že zítřek bude dobrý a šťastný, když nepolevíme ve spravedlivém boji. Když procitnou deptaní a vykořisťovaní.

Probuď se, ó nerozumný,
neradostný a nešťastný!
Probuďte se, matky mrtvých,
zachraňte svět!
Zachraňte děti a sny jejich,
zachraňte barvu a zvuk,

Hallinans Back

4/16/3

Youth Sues Kayo in Fight---$220,000

The Hallinan clan was reunited in Ross yesterday to meet an expensive threat—$220,000 in damage suits filed against 22-year-old Terrence (Kayo) Hallinan.

The suits, brought early in the day in Marin County Superior Court, accused young Hallinan of an unprovoked beating of James Thalhamer Jr., 18-year-old San Anselmo High School student.

Later in the day, Kayo's parents returned home from Paris, where they cut short a European vacation by three months.

"When your kid's in trouble," explained Attorney Vincent Hallinan, "you come to his help."

The trouble began May 29 when Kayo and young Thalhamer had an encounter that ended in a broken jaw for the high school student. Kayo was indicted for felonious assault last week.

"It was extremely foolish for Kayo to strike him," the elder Hallinan said. "He has been zealously avoiding trouble. He doesn't smoke, and he doesn't drink.

"In this county, there is a lot of fist fighting going on."

As an example, Hallinan said that when Kayo was 17 he was jumped by four

See Page 2, Col. 1

Attorney and Mrs. Vincent Hallinan were reunited with son Kayo—to face a $220,000 damage suit

Hallinans Reunited

Kayo Is Sued for $220,000

Continued from Page 1

soldiers, who broke his arm. All of his six boys have had fights, Hallinan added, ever since he undertook the defense of labor leader Harry Bridges in Federal Court.

By the time of the scrap with young Thalhamer, Kayo had mastered pugilism to the point where he was the light heavyweight boxing champion of the University of California, where he was a junior.

Hallinan said Kayo told him the 18-year-old boy had made an uncomplimentary remark about a companion outside a Greenbrae bowling the attorney said, young Thalhamer cocked his fist.

Kayo then threw a single punch, breaking his opponent's jaw in two places.

"I'd be glad to pay the boy's medical expenses, no matter whose fault it was," Hallinan added.

But the pair of damage suits filed yesterday asked for considerably more than that.

The first action, which asks $100,000 general damages, $100,000 punitive damages and an unspecified amount for medical expenses, charges that Hallinan and ten John Does conspired to beat young Thalhamer "surrounding him like a pack of jackals."

Hallinan, the suit says, "brutally, viciously, maliciously, sadistically" attacked young Thalhamer.

This suit asked that compensation by paid to young alley. When Kayo objected, Thalhamer and his parents.

The second suit was filed by Thalhamer's mother and asks $10,000 general and $10,000 punitive damages. In it Mrs. Thalhamer said when her son arrived home after the beating, unable to speak and his jaw "hanging down," she became terrified and suffered great shock.

Kayo had been due for arraignment in Marin County Municipal Court yesterday on the assault charge. But, at the request of his lawyer, Richard Werthimer, the case was continued until June 19.

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Tashkent's Ancient Glory And Socialist Strength

By GEORGE MORRIS

TASHKENT, Uzbekistan — Many centuries ago travelers from the Far East to the Far West came to the cities of this Central Asian area to gaze upon the architectural splendor and other wonders of Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva and Tashkent.

This area, forgotten for centuries after it was laid waste by conquering hordes and reduced to backwardness and poverty beyond comparison, is today a Socialist republic rising with a vigor hardly equalled even in the socialist world. Its ancient wonders, brougtht up to date, may well be the new attraction of travelers, especially of colored peoples from other lands, who are still in the state the Uzbeks were 41 years ago.

The new and the old strike you as you enter this land, especially in this fast-growing capital of 800,000 people. You see many fine new structures; beautiful squares; vast areas of modern apartment buildings; tremendous machine-building, textile, agricultural machinery and other plants; imposing institutes of higher learning; theaters and — at the same time, many of the clay mud huts that recall, not just the days of czarist domination but the centuries old backwardness.

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The process of clearing the mudhuts, and resettling people in new and better homes, is a gigantic one, and will continue for some years. But the energy and drive of the new Uzbek and the plans for the next seven years, promise the job will be done sooner than most of us in the West imagine.

What impresses you at every turn in Uzbekistan is how the people draw their new strength not only from modern science, technology and socialism, but also from their ancient past and the revival of its finest traditions.

A good example is the big new beautiful state theatre. Chief Architect Bullatov of Tashkent, guided me through the theatre and its side halls and at the same time gave me an interesting lecture on the different schools of architecture and art that had developed in Uzbekistan through the years.

The designers of the theatre conceived of bringing all those schools into the structure. Artists were brought in to design a hall in the style of ancient Samarkand, other halls in the style developed in old Tashkent, Bukhara, Khiva, Ternez. The theatre itself is a combination of the styles with the colorful circular ceiling having the shape of the Uzbek "toupe" — the ancient four-cornered embroidered skull cap which the people wear.

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EVERYWHERE there are statues of Uzbek poets and thinkers, forgotten for centuries. The streets, institutes and enterprises are named after many of them.

The bookshops are the busiest enterprises of all. The Uzbeks, among whom there was hardly any literacy before the Revolution, now have more than 200 newspapers, 69 journals, more than half of them in their own language. In 1956, for example, 1,336 new book titles were published in 21 million copies.

The busy central public library which I visited has more than two million volumes. There I was also shown the books of Western authors, including Americans, translated into Uzbek. There are Mark Twain works, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I was told there are now 3,500 libraries scattered through this republic of eight million people.

While making rapid progress, the Uzbek peoples cherish and preserve proudly their national customs and traditions. I saw a good example of that before I left Moscow for Uzbekistan.

Hundreds of Uzbekistan's best artists in the theater, in music and literature, took Moscow by storm with 10-days of performances in several theaters each evening. They are abreast

(Continued on page 7)

George Morris Visits:

A Cotton Growing Farm in Uzbekistan

By GEORGE MORRIS

TASHKENT, Uzbekistan. — The Stalin Collective Farm not far from this city, is about medium sized as such farms run — about 730 families — and can be taken as a fair measure of the progress the Uzbek people have made on the countryside. On the farms almost all are Uzbeks. Many do not speak Russian. In the larger cities a high percentage are of other nationalities and almost all speak Russian — the tongue that unites all the hundred-odd peoples of the Soviet Union.

Like most Uzbek agriculture, the Stalin farm is planted mainly to cotton. Uzbekestan ranks No. 1 in the Soviet production of cotton.

There is not the slightest resemblence between the Stalin Farm of 1959 and pre-Revolution farming, nor even with the condition of the 60 families with a total of 164 hectres (about 400 acres) who founded the farm in 1929, the first year of the first five-year plan.

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THE DAY I spent on the farm was one of the most interesting and educational of my travels and confirmed the conclusion I had already formed, that the Uzbeks are among the friendliest and warmest of people.

My day began with an interview of Abdulah Artikov, chairman of the farm since 1937. He took me on a sightseeing trip, including a visit to a farmer's home. Then came lunch as a guest of the farm, including a lengthy discussion and the presentation to me of the traditional Uzbek robe, the kerchief to tie it and the "toupe" — embroidered scullcap — which I put on by request.

The Stalin Farm's 730 households embrace a population of 4,700 persons, of whom 2,274 are in the working force. Of some 5,000 acres of land under cultivation, about 3,400 are in cotton, 800 for grazing, the rest in corn, rice, vegetables, fruit and grapes. Many more hundreds of acres along the borders of the farm are available and will be put under cultivation in the next several years.

The increase of land per household is only part of the story. Each acre yields more than five times the product of 30 years ago and with less labor, because the farm is rich in machinery, experience and the aid of science.

Last year when the Soviet Union reformed the farm system to eliminate the machine and tractor stations serving farms, and the equipment was sold to the farms, for them to operate, the Stalin farm bought 48 tractors, three cotton pickers and other equipment for the sum of 700,000 rubles and paid it all in cash. The farm also has ten trucks, 274 horses, 635 horned cattle, 4,000 sheep, 1,700 fowl, 213 pigs, 200 bee hives and other such property in the general "undivisible" fund.

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UNDER THE COLLECTIVE farm system, each member is paid in cash, or in cash plus produce, on the basis of the working day units he puts in. The general trend now is toward all-cash payment. The output determines the amount paid per working day. With the steady rise in productivity and in the area of cultivation, the per day income for the Stalin farm members rose.

It was 18.74 rubles per day in 1958 plus 2.80 kilograms (about seven pounds) of grain.

Not all in the working force put in every day in the year, nor even work all the year around. But in 1958 the average number of days worked was 262, with an average payment of almost 5,000 rubles per person plus about a ton of grain. Most families have two or more working. Farm income in 1958 was 15 million rubles.

That isn't all. In accordance with the general law of the USSR, every household is allotted about one eighth of a hectare, almost three eights of an acre) for its own garden, and the right to have a cow and other animals for personal use. Of the 730 households, 600 have cows, Artikov said. Many have their own sheep, fowls and up to the maximum of 20 beehives.

Thus, the collective farmer's cash income is almost entirely available for purchase of clothing and household goods. All have their own homes.

The farmers get the aid of the farm for their individual plots—use of tractor, technical aid, seeds.

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LIKE MOST FARMS, the Stalin farm grew as a result of mergers with other farms on three occassions. The trend is toward bigger collectives and toward a greater amount of property and equipment in the general fund.

Thus, the trend has been steadily towards the farmer coming closer to the status of the worker in industry, but on the basis of an improved living standard, not, as in capitalist countries, through foreclosures and loss of farm.

Today the farm makes up a social, political and economic community, with not the slightest resemblance to the impoverishment and backwardness that was the lot of the people here before collectivization — except for a handful of rich farmers who exploited others.

Uzbeks have many children. In this community, 1003 are going to school and 400 are in all-day kindergartens. Still more are in creches (nurseries), freeing the mothers for farm duties. There are three schools: one through the equivalent of our high school, and two not quite through the high school level. There are eleven kindergartens and creches. There are two chaikhanas — tea rooms. A big public restaurant is being completed. There are two libraries and a culture club, much like those of the trade unions in the cities.

The farm is electrified. Almost every household has a radio and about 100 have TV sets, although Tashkent programs began only two years ago.

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NOT ALL WORK at farming. Many are teachers, administrative workers, in the services for the community, technicians, mechanics. And there are some who prefer to work in the city or in nearby plants although they live in this farm community. Many choose professions and eventually move elsewhere.

At the moment 60 members of collective farm families are in institutions of higher learning throughout the USSR, said Artikov. He named a number, now in important positions in science and government, who came from the farm. The community elects its government bodies, as do others. Artikov was candidate for the Uzbek parliament when I was there.

The collective farmers elect a council of 13 every two years as their economic administration. That council names the officials.

The collective farm has a pension system financed out of its income to provide for the aged. They enjoy approximately the same conditions that the city oldsters have. Artikov said the Uzbek farmers hold that a retired person should not have to depend on his children. The farm also has a fund from which to help retired members go to a vacation resort occasionally and from which aid can be given some members of the farm who have below-average circumstances, to dress their kids properly for school and for such things.

I saw the older member of the community dressed in the traditional Uzbek clothes, seated on rugs in the chaikhanas before teapot and bowl, discussing and arguing. With the springlike weather, some moved the operation outdoors.

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AT THE BIG garage, which house the machinery, tractor workers and mechanics, now incorporated into the collective farm, were busy getting everything in shape for plowing and sowing.

Across the patch of farm, on the other side, there was a procession. Someone was getting married.

At the library, several were reading. Kids were busy changing books. The librarian told me he has 700 regular readers.

At the nearby club rooms several more oldsters were seated on carpets although 500 chairs lined the big hall. There, as in city union clubs, there is afterschool "self-activity" in which the children take the greatest interest. That night there was to be a movie show. Dramatic shows by visiting union circles or from local talent are also put on.

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ARTIKOV SAID there is no longer a serious housing shortage. The farm helped every member build a home. He recalled old days when farmers couldn't even own a clay-mud cottage. The homes vary with the means of the owner and his construction talents. Some were of regular brick. But most were of homemade clay-mud brick of which you see much in the area. Lumber is scarce.

I paid a visit to one of the homes — a two-room house. In the sitting room was a large table only about a foot from the floor every inch of it laden with dried fruits, raisins, grapes, dried honeydew mellon, nuts and the homemade bread that looked like our flat New York onion-rolls, but larger.

They explained that this being the slow season it is customary for people to drop in on each other. And an Uzbek considers it a rule to have a table always set. I was invited, along with Artikov and others of the farm administration who comes along, to sit at the table.

One of the party observed I was bewildered and informed me that the Uzbeks in the villages still follow the old custom of sitting on carpets. So I sat down Uzbek fashion, to the delight of the Uzbeks who pressed me from all sides to partake of the spread on the table.

I observed that on a shelf were piled many blankets pillows and more rugs. I learned later that many of the older people still fellow the custom of sleeping on floors. That bedding was for the two elderly women who were seated at the table. In the other room off a hallway were regular beds for the husband and wife, both collective farmers. And along with these ancient customs, on a side table, stood a TV set.

OUR LUNCHEON later was quite a spread. The participants included Saodat Tashmotova, chairman of the Communist Party district organization, and members of the Stalin Farm administration. Between toasts for peace, direct people-to-people contact and international solidarity, Miss Tashmotova, a keen woman of wide information, and Artikov pelted me with many questions on the life of the farmers in the U. S., of the Negro people and of our left progressive movement.

At the conclusion, as they presented me with robe, kerchief and cap, and made me try them on, they stressed again a hope for peace and friendship and an invitation to Americans to come and see.

"Experts" said you couldn't grow cotton as high and as thick as this. Two city girls examine a lush cotton boll in Hsushui county, China.

Chicago **Sunday**
May Day Meeting **May 3**

GEORGE MORRIS

Labor Editor of The Worker

"Labor in England, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union."

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Chairman, Communist Party of Illinois, will speak on major questions facing America

Fine Arts Building
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Auspices: Freedom of the Press Committee

GARMENT WORKERS

greet all American workers

on this May Day 1959

LA BONNE ENTENTE EST GENERALE

Interview du professeur Du Bois

Le dernier jour de sa visite en Union soviétique, le professeur William Du Bois, Prix international Lénine de la paix, nous a accordé une interview au cours de laquelle il a abordé quatre questions.

Parlant de ses impressions d'ensemble, le professeur nous a d'abord confié qu'il a été très agréablement surpris par ce qu'il a vu cette fois, surtout en comparaison de ce qu'il avait observé en 1926 et en 1936.

— *Ma plus grande impression de ce voyage en Union soviétique,* a-t-il dit, *a été un sentiment de succès. Aujourd'hui, l'Union soviétique sait ce qu'elle est en mesure d'accomplir et comment elle va le faire.*

En 1926, l'Union soviétique était affectée à juste titre par la crainte des attaques que lançait et qu'allait lancer contre elle le «monde civilisé» tout entier. Il s'agissait de permettre ou de ne pas permettre l'expérience du socialisme.

Certains pensaient que l'expérience allait réussir. Mais il s'agissait de savoir si on aurait l'occasion de la voir réussir. Aujourd'hui il n'y a pas lieu de le craindre.

L'Union soviétique, fait de son mieux pour ne pas perdre de temps à la guerre ou aux armements défensifs et pour concentrer tous ses efforts en vue de bâtir le communisme.

Le professeur Du Bois a voulu comparer ensuite ce qu'il a vu cette fois avec ce qu'il avait pu observer le 1er Mai 1926:

William E. B. Du Bois et son épouse Shirley Graham

— *Alors, les festivités étaient de moindre envergure et n'étaient pas si bien organisées.*

D'après ce que j'ai vu maintenant, la bonne entente est générale. C'était une foule heureuse, alors qu'en 1926 il y avait de la sévérité dans son air décidé. Cette année, tout le monde était de bonne humeur. Tous les visages étaient souriants et l'atmosphère était celle d'une vraie fête.

La démonstration a été faite d'une formidable puissance militaire. Mais sans ostentation. Ce n'était ni la préoccupation de tous, ni le premier de leurs soucis.

Toute la ville manifestait à l'occasion de la fête. Il serait impossible que tous sortent ainsi à New York, San Francisco, Londres ou Paris, comme tous les habitants de Moscou sont sortis de chez eux pour célébrer la fête du Premier Mai.

Quant à moi, j'ai passé une journée très agréable.

Commentant le fait que le Prix international Lénine de la paix lui a été décerné à la veille du Premier Mai, le professeur a dit:

— *Tout d'abord cela a été une grande surprise, étant donné surtout que beaucoup d'autres personnes dans le monde ont accompli pour la paix beaucoup plus que ce que j'ai moi-même essayé de faire en Amérique, où à mon avis, je n'ai rien réussi. C'est ce que je veux dire en parlant de ma surprise.*

C'est un grand honneur pour moi que d'autres pensent que j'ai fait quelque chose d'utile.

Interrogé sur ses projets immédiats, le professeur Du Bois a répondu:

— *On n'a pas l'habitude de faire des projets quand on a 91 ans. En ce qui me concerne, je décrirai ce voyage et reverrai certains de mes livres. Je ferai aussi d'autres choses de même nature. Mais je ferai tout cela non pas d'après des plans établis, mais d'après l'état de ma santé et mon humeur.*

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